



NORTH KOREA INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTATION PROJECT

DOCUMENT READER

New Evidence on North Korea

Edited by James Person

June 2010

NKIDP



NEW EVIDENCE ON NORTH KOREA

NORTH KOREA INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTATION PROJECT

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Prepared for the conference:

**New Documents and New Histories: Twenty-First Century
Perspectives on the Korean War**

June 16-17, 2010
Harry S. Truman Presidential Library
Independence, Missouri

Organized by

The Harry S. Truman Presidential Library

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**The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars'
North Korea International Documentation Project**

Dear Participant

The North Korea International Documentation Project (NKIDP) is pleased to present you with this “document reader,” which is intended to facilitate and enrich the discussion at the June 16-17 conference “New Documents and New Histories: Twenty-First Century Perspectives on the Korean War,” held at the Harry S. Truman Presidential Library in Independence, Missouri. The volume consists of select Russian, Chinese, South Korean, Hungarian, Romanian, Polish, and (East) German archival documents that we hope will provide context for discussion on North Korea.

The collection, compiled by NKIDP is by no means comprehensive, however, in selecting the materials, the editors sought to include some of the most important materials available and made a substantial effort to mine relevant official archives. The document reader is organized chronologically, starting with April 1955 and ending in May 1984.

In compiling these documents, the editors received much appreciated cooperation and assistance from scholars from several countries, reflecting the multinational scope of this project. NKIDP is particularly grateful to Jakub Poprocki for contributing documentation from the Polish Foreign Ministry Archives; Bernd Schaefer for contributing documents from the former East German Foreign Ministry Archive; Jongdae Shin for contributing South Korean materials from the Foreign Ministry Archive; Mircea Munteanu for Romanian documents; Gregg Brazinsky for Chinese documents, and Balazs Szalontai for Hungarian documents. The document reader would not have been ready for distribution had it not been for the diligence of NKIDP interns Katherine Harrington, Lauren Sungeun Bae, Scott LaFoy, and Will Treece. The editors are especially grateful to the Korea Foundation, whose support made the translation of many of the documents contained in this reader possible. Last but not least, the editors would like to thank the Hon. Lee H. Hamilton, President and Director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and Dr. Michael Van Dusen, Deputy Director, for providing Center resources for additional document translations.

NKIDP is part of the Woodrow Wilson Center’s History and Public Policy Program, directed by Christian F. Ostermann. The Project was launched in 2006 in cooperation with the University of North Korean Studies (Seoul).

James F. Person
Coordinator, NKIDP

Christian F. Ostermann
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DOCUMENT No. 1

[Source: RGANI, Fond 5, Opus 28, Delo 314, listi 34-59. Obtained for NKIDP by James Person and translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg].

Secret Copy N° 5

CPSU CC

In connection with the forthcoming consultations with senior officials of the KWP CC, we are sending "Information on the Situation in the DPRK" which has been corrected and supplemented on the basis of recent informational materials, and also a draft note "The Main Questions for Discussion with the Korean comrades"

April 1955

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[...]

5. Sino-Korean Relations

During the war close military, political, economic, and cultural relations were established between the DPRK and PRC which were also successfully developed in the postwar period.

However, there are some individual abnormal phenomena in the relations between the Korean and Chinese comrades which are reflected to a certain degree in the course of Sino-Korean cooperation.

According to information received from our military advisers in Korea, the Korean comrades have not been able to establish firm, constant contact with the command of the Chinese People's Volunteers. Korean leaders visit the headquarters of the Chinese volunteers located several dozen kilometers from Pyongyang very rarely, and even then only for ceremonial visits. In turn, members of the Chinese Volunteer command also do not communicate with the Korean comrades.

Cases have occurred where some Korean leaders have expressed dissatisfaction amongst themselves that the Chinese command allegedly did not wish to take advantage of the defeat of the interventionists at the beginning of 1951 for the final liberation of Korea. Cases of a certain contrasting of the USSR to China by the Koreans are also being noted. For example, during military talks in Moscow in February of this year, Pak Chang Ok, a Deputy Chairman of the DPRK Cabinet of Ministers, said in effect that he did not want to deal with the Chinese comrades about issues connected with the repair of military equipment.

The experience of working in Korea shows that the Korean comrades underrate the role and importance of Chinese aid to Korea and, in particular, downplay the role of the Chinese volunteers in the fight against the American intervention. This is evident if only from the fact that at an exhibit in Pyongyang devoted to the war with the interventionists, only one of the 12 pavilions was devoted to the Chinese volunteers but the remaining pavilions described the combat operations of the Korean Peoples Army, ignoring the operations of the Chinese volunteers. The role of the Chinese volunteers was clearly downplayed at the exhibit. For their part, the Chinese command in Korea organized an exhibit in which the Chinese guides created their own explanations in the sense that Chinese volunteers were given the credit for the defeat of the interventionists and the liberation of North Korea.

There is a group of senior officials in Korea made up of former CCP members who served at one time in the ranks of the Peoples Liberation Army. Unhealthy relations have developed between this group of officials and Soviet-Koreans who occupy senior positions in the DPRK. It is not excluded that the Soviet-Koreans are influencing Kim Il Sung with the object of removing the Koreans who came from China from senior positions. One of the most prominent DPRK leaders, Bak Ilu, who is closely associated with the Chinese command, was removed from the post of Minister of Internal Affairs in 1952 without adequate reason and then appointed Minister of Communications. Ban [Heosan], also associated with the Chinese command, was removed from the post of rector of the DPRK Military Academy. According to assertions by Soviet-Koreans, these people allegedly expressed dissatisfaction that the posts of command in the DPRK Army and government apparatus are occupied by Soviet-Koreans and that Kim Il Sung relies completely on Soviet military and other advisers.

According to Embassy information, Kim Il Sung intends to gradually dismiss the officials who arrived from China from senior posts in the Party and government, which might have a negative impact on Sino-Korean relations.

There is reason to believe that the Chinese comrades are not satisfied with the behavior of the Koreans (although they do not say this openly) and for their part treat the Koreans reservedly. The fact stands out that in February 1952, after the recall of its ambassador from Korea, the PRC government did not appoint a new ambassador until January of this year. Those present at receptions held by the Korean Embassy in Beijing cannot help but notice that Cde. Zhou Enlai barely talks to the Korean representatives.

[...]

6. It would be proper to recommend to the Korean comrades that they improve work in the organization of the United Front (KDUF) [Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland] in order to more fully involve all the patriots of the country in a movement for the peaceful unification of the country, getting this organization to renew its ties with the mass organizations of South Korea.

Recommend that the Korean comrades direct the efforts of the KWP at creating support bases in the South in trade unions, peasant, youth, women's, and other organizations that exist there and

the use of all legal opportunities to fight the Syngman Rhee regime. The revival of the illegal organizations of the KWP in South Korea should also be sought.

Propaganda in South Korea ought to be carried on more skillfully, abandoning the unfounded indiscriminate deprecation of all South Korean figures, skillfully support progressive and opposition elements in South Korea capable of supporting the unification of the country and the creation of an independent democratic government, and extensively use the differences in the ruling hierarchy of South Korea, the bourgeois parties, and other organizations for these purposes.

It would also be advisable to discuss with the Korean comrades the issue of the possibility of creating a legal patriotic organization of a neutral nature in the South which might advocate the establishment of cooperation between South and North Korea and a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem through the efforts of the Koreans themselves. Such an organization, while expressing its openly negative attitude toward the Syngman Rhee regime, might use the conditions of legal activity to split off progressive elements of the national bourgeoisie from Syngman Rhee and to enlist them in the struggle to unify Korea on democratic principles.

At the present time the Korean comrades are developing a draft KWP platform which it intends to adopt at a forthcoming Party Congress. The platform sets the tasks of building socialism in North Korea and the liberation of South Korea. In our opinion, given the present situation in Korea it is inadvisable to propose such a platform and disclose the ultimate aims of the KWP. Instead, it seems more important to develop a new platform for the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland, which is in accord with the main tasks of the KWP in postwar conditions (the peaceful unification of Korea, the revival and development of the DPRK economy, raising the material welfare of the population, etc.). Such a platform should have as its goal the uniting of all patriotic forces of the nation to fight against the American occupation of South Korea and for the creation of a united independent democratic Korean state.

/N. FEDORENKO/

/B. PONOMAREV/

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DOCUMENT No. 2

[Source: RGANI, Fond 5, Opis 28, Delo 411, Listy 367-369. Obtained and translated for CWIHP by James F. Person, first published in CWIHP Working Paper 52]

Memorandum of Conversation with the Chinese Ambassador to the DPRK, Qiao Xiao Guang

From the diary of the ambassador of the USSR
In the DPRK, Comrade Ivanov V.I. for the period
From 30 October to 14 November 1956.

“5” November 1956

I received the ambassador of the PRC, Qiao Xiao Guang at his request. After a brief procedural conversation, Qiao asked if I knew anything new about measures of the Korean friends to carry out the decision of the September Plenum. According to Qiao, the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party shows great interest in this question.

I explained that since my conversation with the charge d'affaires of the PRC embassy in the DPRK, Chao Ke Xian, I have not learned anything substantial about the measures of the friends on the stated question. According to the existing communications of the unofficial order it is known that the Korean leadership intends to make Choe Chang-ik director of the state committee on preserving monuments of material culture and Pak Chang-ok the director of construction at a cement factory in Madong. From the same communication it is also known that a meeting of the Presidium of the CC KWP was held not long ago where it was decided to release Bak Ilu from imprisonment.

As to Qiao's request that I say something about how the Korean friends viewed the visit of Comrades Mikoyan and Peng Dehuai to the DPRK, I responded that to judge by the course of the September Plenum, then the reaction of the friends should be considered positive, however, to confirm this categorically would be premature.

In turn I was interested in the opinion of Qiao Xiao Guang in this regard. He answered that so far he has not reached a specific conclusion regarding the reaction of the friends to the visit of comrades Mikoyan and Peng Dehuai.

I asked Qiao if Yun Gongheum, Li Pilgyu, Seo Hwi, and Kim Changil, located in China, knew about their rehabilitation to the KWP and if they intended to return to the DPRK.

Qiao said that they were aware of that decision. Not wishing to return to the DPRK, they want to ask the government of the DPRK to allow their families to depart to China since they know also that the Korean government was not pressing for their return to the DPRK. Qiao further told me that in a letter from Yun Kongheum, Seo Hwi, Kim Changil and Li Pilgyu addressed to the CC CCP and CC CPSU, they blamed the Korean leadership for destroying a number of notable party officials in the period after liberation and during the war; for leading the country and party with anti-democratic methods; for incorrectly appointing and cultivating leading cadres. In connection with this, they considered Bak Jeongae, Bak Geumcheol, Kim Changman, and Han Seongdo individuals not qualified to occupy leading posts in the party; finally, they charged that the leadership did not carry out the struggle with Kim Il Sung's personality cult.

Qiao added that without having any materials confirming these statements, the CC CCP displayed understandable caution with regard to the indicated letter.

I informed Qiao Xiao Guang that the Korean leadership released Li Sangjo from his duties as ambassador of the DPRK in Moscow and requested that the Soviet government agree to Li Sungpal, working nowadays as the director of the educational department of the CC KWP.

According to the Korean friends, Li Sangjo refuses to return to the DPRK and in all likelihood will remain in the PRC.

In response to my question if the Chinese embassy had the decree of the August Plenum of the CC KWP on organizational matters, Qiao answered that they did not have it, but the delegation of the KWP to the VIII Congress of the CCP delivered the above decree to Mao Zedong.

Present at the meeting was the first secretary of the embassy, Samsanov G.E.
The meeting was translated by the translator of the Chinese embassy, Won Bao-min.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 3

[Obtained for NKIDP by Jakub Poprocki and translated for NKIDP by Maya Latynski.]

Embassy of the
People's Republic of Poland
in Pyongyang [trans. note: tilted stamp]
24/7/2421/57/[trans. note: illegible initials]

Pyongyang, 24.XII.1956

Secret [trans. note: tilted stamp]

Note

Memorandum of conversation with comrade Samsonov, 1st Secretary of the Embassy of the USSR
on 20.XII.1956

During a meeting with Comr. Samsonov at the Soviet Embassy, whose goal was to discuss a range of problems with the DPRK, the following issues were brought up:

1) Group from the August plenum.

Four persons from this group, who went over to China during the time that the 8th Congress of the C[ommunist] P[arty] of China was taking place in Beijing, remain in China to this date. Because there were 2 members of the C[entral] C[ommittee] and one deputy member of the CC (Minister of Internal Trade, Chairm[an] of Tr[ade] Un[ion]s and dir[ector] of dep[artment] of construction materials in the Council of Ministers dep[uty] memb[er] of the CC), these people, according to Comr. Samsonov, reached the leadership of the C[ommunist] P[arty] of China. In Beijing, in agreement with the Soviet comrs. a decision was made. Then Mikoyan and Peng Dehuai came to Pyongyang for the September plenum of the Kor. Workers' Party. Comr Samsonov believes that Mikoyan and Peng Dehuai conducted talks with the Korean leadership. As a result, the plenum adopted a new stance vis-à-vis the group from the August plenum, which is now not being called anti-party, but instead people who got lost, and their mistakes should be

treated as a dispute within the party and one must aim to remove mistakes by way of persuasion.

Comr. Samsonov stated that the Korean comrs. consider the September plenum a watershed in the party's work in the sphere of methods of educating party members.

On this occasion, Comr. Samsonov said that two deputies to the chairman of the Pyongyang committee of the Workers' Party were also tied to the August group. Their party cards were given back to them at the September plenum and they were directed to work on a very low level of administrative work. (the August plenum removed them from the party).

Later, in response to the question of how the September plenum was conducted locally, Comr. Samsonov stated that it can be inferred from the information of leading persons at the Soviet Embassy that after the September plenum of the CC of the Workers' Party, no plenums of the P[rovincial] C[ommittee] or D[istrict] C[ommittee] took place, but meetings of party activists were conducted.

The issue of such extreme change in the stance of the CC at the September plenum compared to the August plenum, when the whole group (without Choe Changik and Pak Changok) were thrown out of the party, was generally incomprehensible to the members of the party. Kim Il Sung explained that the change of stance toward this group proves the strength of the party and that ideological convincing is the best method of party work.

On the question of the subsequent fate of the August group, Comr. Samsonov stated that the former vice-premier Pak Changok has become the director of one of the largest factories. Choe Changik, former vice-premier, is still not working.

In the opinion of Comr. Samsonov, the August group should be considered a healthy current in the party.

2) Different groups in the leadership of the DPRK

In response to the question whether one hears about the existence of Korean, Chinese and other groups in the DPRK leadership, Comr. Samsonov stated that indeed four groups existed: the Soviet, Chinese, South Korean and North Korean. Kim Il Sung brought up the question of these groups at the plenum of the CC of the Workers' Party in December of last year. "Kim Il Sung asserted that after 10 years one should not call oneself a Soviet or a Chinese Korean, that we are all, said Kim Il Sung, members of one party and we stand on the foundation of one ideology regardless of whether we came from the USSR, from China or from the South." Koreans who have come from the USSR had Soviet citizenship. There were facts [sic] that members of the government of the DPRK were Soviet citiz[ens].

At the beginning of the current year, Soviet passports were taken away from all Koreans who had come from the USSR. Today all are Korean citizens.

[According to] Kim Il Sung's speech, taking Soviet passports away caused the issue of the groups to calm down gradually. Today, affirms Comr. Samsonov, one barely hears about these groups.

3) Exchange of party cards.

A campaign of exchanging party cards is continuing in the DPRK. Comr. Samsonov, following the Korean comrades, gave the reasons for the exchange of cards:

a) Among the existing cards there are still many old ones from before 1948. There were many cards with the old name of the party, the North Korean Workers' Party (beginning in 1948, the party's name was changed to the Korean Workers' Party).

Also, in the war period about 450,000 new party members were accepted, and they received substitute cards (certificates, 450,000 is nearly half of the number of members of the party, which in April 1956 had 1,154,000 members).

b) There was bad paper in the old cards and many had been destroyed or were in poor condition.

c) The exchange of cards was combined with an educational campaign for the party members.

d) On the occasion of the card exchange, the rehabilitation of wrongly punished comrades is being conducted.

Comr. Samsonov informed that the arguments given in points "c" and "d" are treated by the Korean comrades as marginal in the campaign of exchange of party cards, and the facts given in points "a" and "b" were the deciding cause.

4) Changes in economic policies.

Comr. Samsonov agreed with our opinion that the guidelines of the IIIrd Congress of the Kor. Workers' Party in the sphere of the development of the national economy were calculated for the further development of the concept of making Korea a self-sufficient state in the industrial sphere, which, if one takes into account the financial capabilities, the destruction, and the level of cadres is completely unrealistic.

The August plenum of the CC of the Kor. Workers' Party adopted a new course in economic policy calculated at abandoning the construction of huge and expensive factories, and it was decided to build those factories that, on the basis of Korea's natural wealth, will bring relatively quick economic results and at the same time allow for a quick raising of the standard of living. Comr. Samsonov can see the continuation of this program in the last December plenum of the CC.

5) The question of raising the standard of living of the population.

In the opinion of the Soviet comrades, the DPRK government made substantial efforts in 1956 in the area of improvement of the living standards of the population. Comr. Samsonov relayed the following facts:

a) Lowering of prices, which gave the nation 12,000,000,000 won in savings. The Soviet comrades converted this sum into rice at free-market prices, as a result of which the calculation showed that the population can purchase 120,000 tons of rice, at the latest lowering of prices, which represents a considerable position in the feeding of the population.

b) After the IIIrd Congress of the Party, working people and students had their daily ration of rice increased by 100 gr.

c) In November an increase in wages was conducted, 35% on average. In 1957 the government of the DPRK intends to achieve much more in the sphere of raising the standard of living of the population than it has done in 1956.

6) Agricultural production.

Last year 2,430,000 tons of grains were harvested, claims Comr. Samsonov. To feed the population of the DPRK the minimum is 3,000,000 tons. Imports did not fully cover the shortfall. From this stemmed difficulties in hiring new workers (workers and their families obtain rice with ration cards, non-workers do not receive cards for rice).

This year, according to Comr. Samsonov, the harvest is better than it was in 1955. Still in the opinion of Comr. Samsonov, 3,000,000 tons have not been reached.

7) On the question of Korea's unification.

Comr. Samsonov agreed with us that the government of the DPRK in its resolutions and announcements treats the question of unifying Korea quite propagandistically. The existing program of unifying Korea proposed by the DPRK totally negates the government of Syngman Rhee. The DPRK government does not want to talk with the government of Syngman Rhee. Of course, under these conditions it would be impossible in the near future to launch talks with the current regime in the south.

Also, as Comr. Samsonov stressed, one can observe a recent calming down of the tone (by the DPRK toward Syngman Rhee). While before, official government documents labeled the southern government as a clique or a dictatorship, in the latest DPRK protest over the reaching of an agreement between the USA and South Korea we read: "American imperialists and Syngman Rhee."

8) About the role of the intelligentsia in the DPRK.

In the opinion of the Soviet comrade, the old intelligentsia has been removed from having any influence on the life in the DPRK. There is a young intelligentsia, which indeed stands on the foundation of party and government policies, but this intelligentsia is only just being created. Still, the intelligentsia in the DPRK plays no visible role in political life. There has so far been no positive or negative critique of the factual state of affairs in the DPRK by the intelligentsia.

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Brzeziński Henryk

[trans. note: followed by signature]

1st Secretary of the PRL Embassy in the DPRK

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DOCUMENT No. 4

[Obtained for NKIDP by Jakub Poprocki and translated for NKIDP by Maya Latynski.]

Embassy of the
People's Republic of Poland

Pyongyang, 11.III.1957

in Pyongyang [trans. note: tilted stamp]

No. 268/38/2421/57/tjm[trans. note: added by hand, probably a person's initials]

Secret [trans. note: added by hand]

Note

Memorandum of conversation with Comr[ade] Makarov, Counselor of the Embassy of the USSR on 11.III.1957

Comr. Makarov has been in the DPRK for over a year and a half. Prior to arriving in the DPRK he was a vice-premier of the Russian Republic. In the DPRK, he headed the office of economic relations (this office was a separate unit, the office dealt with the USSR's aid to the DPRK). Currently Comr. Makarov is the Embassy counselor for questions of economic cooperation. Comr. Makarov possesses contacts in the economic sphere on a high level with Korean comrades.

The conversation had as its goal a discussion of the DPRK's economic problems and gaining information in this sphere.

Comr. Makarov remarked at the beginning that the DPRK government has now abandoned the unreasonable policy of economic self-reliance, a policy calculated for the construction of huge branches of production (machinery, cars, engines and so on) with the goal of exporting these products.

These goals overreached the capabilities of the DPRK and furthermore there were no real perspectives for selling these products, if only because of the low quality of these kinds of products in the DPRK.

In Comr. Makarov's opinion, the visit of the DPRK government delegation to the countries of people's democracy influenced the change in economic policy. In response to my question whether the appearance of the August group influenced the change in economic policy, Comr. Makarov was of the opinion that it was the visit of the government delegation to the countries of people's democracy that decided it.

The DPRK's current economic plan for 1957 should be judged as correct, calculated for the appropriate exploitation of the natural wealth of the DPRK based on real financial, material, technical and cadre possibilities.

The DPRK is developing a 5-year plan. The development of the plan is supposed to be finished in May of this year. Comr. Makarov stressed that positive changes have occurred in the DPRK this year in the realization of the national plan. After the December plenum there were certainly voices among the ministries that the plan which had been

agreed on was too high, still the goals were met and significantly exceeded in January and February. Until now, in the period of the 3-year plan, January and February were months of not fulfilling plans. The economic perspective in the DPRK for 1957 in the sphere of implementing the national plan is favorable. The fact of the great mobilization of the whole leadership of the DPRK, which for two months came into contact with the staff of factories, production cooperatives and where concrete economic tasks were discussed, influenced this kind of situation. Various kinds of Korean specialists, who helped the teams and leadership of given economic units in the correct, organizational, economic and so on development of plans took part in these meetings. The meetings mobilized the working masses, as well as the management institutions.

Speaking about these changes, Comr. Makarov said that he is satisfied with the results of his work (he repeated this sentence several more times on other occasions).

On the question of spending on investments in 1957, Comr. Makarov believed that the DPRK does not aim to develop the steel and machine industries on such a scale that these areas would be produced for export. The construction of a diesel automobile engine factory was removed from the plan, but only to build those branches to the extent that they would secure the production of spare parts, renovation of existing machines, production of minor installations, minor agricultural equipment indispensable to the current needs of the country, in a word, to maintain and leave functioning what is in the industry and agriculture of the DPRK, as well as the production of necessary equipment for agriculture, so as to save foreign currency for the import of other things.

Investment for 1957, albeit 80% is designated for heavy industry insofar as to raise agriculture (chemical industry: production will increase [by] about 100,000 t. artificial fertilizers and will surpass 300,000 t.), the electro-technical industry indispensable for the whole of the economy, the coal industry and so on, since there is a shortage of coal for heating in the DPRK. This winter there was not enough coal for the population, and the winter was very harsh. (The production of coal is to grow by over 300,000 t. and will reach 4,300,000 t.)

This way investment in heavy industry returns directly to the population and causes a rise in the standard of living.

Comr. Makarov stated that earnings in the budget for 1956 were higher than expenditures by about 4 billion won. In the current year, the budget amounts to about 96 billion won, i.e., 8 billion more in relation to 1956.

In principle, assistance to the DPRK from the countries of people's democracy and the USSR ends in the current year. In Comr. Makarov's opinion, 1958 will be a very difficult year for the DPRK from the point of view of the currency balance. Comr. Makarov asserted that already 1959 should demonstrate an active balance of foreign currency in the DPRK.

On the issue of the planned 22% growth in production for 1957, at which almost half of the growth in production is to be attained through the growth in work productivity, Comr. Makarov stated that this is possible taking into account the huge reserves lodged in the economy of the DPRK, and especially in the organization of work. Comr. Makarov also relayed that, for example: in 1956 ca. 60-70% of the workers employed in industry worked at a daily rate. In 1957 ca. 60-70% will do piecework, and so the relation will reverse.

On the issue of agriculture, Comr. Makarov stated that the very fast tempo of

collectivizing the countryside in the DPRK has given birth to fears among the Soviet comrades that agricultural production may go down. These fears did not come true. The attained outcomes in the production of grains eliminated fears of this kind. The number of Korean cows and of oxen has gone down. (There is a shortage of over 300,000 oxen to guarantee tractive force in agriculture). The drop in the numbers of cattle stems from the fact that at the beginning of the organizing of the cooperative movement the Korean comrades chose to create cooperatives without giving cattle as a contribution to a cooperative by the peasants. Hence those joining cooperatives got rid of or killed cattle. The mistake has been repaired, but the results can still be felt.

In the period of the 3-year plan the farming of technical cultures dropped significantly. Comr. Makarov said that he had brought up this matter with the Korean comrades (e.g.: the area of cotton cultivation fell from 80,000 ha to 15,000). The Korean comrades maintained that they are consciously reducing the production of cotton and increasing the area of cultivation of rice because people have nothing to eat and giving rice is the most important thing. Currently the area of cultivation of technical cultures is being increased, after achievements in the sphere of grains.

For 1957 the Koreans have planned a crop of 2,950,000 t. of grains. The peasants and cooperativists have declared a further 340,000 t. of grains above the plan, after conversations with the party leadership after the December plenum. If this quantity is reached (i.e., nearly 3,300,000), for which there are realistic possibilities as long as there are no unexpected disasters, floods or droughts, then the government of the DPRK will receive the amount of grains necessary for a free and full feeding of the population.

In this way a basis for the gradual lifting of the voucher system for food items would be created. At this moment the food situation is such that, despite the fact that more grains were harvested than in 1949, there is a shortage of grains, while in 1949 there was too much. This fact is being explained with the argument that the amount of vegetables (vegetables are the second principal food item, after rice, for feeding the population) is significantly smaller than before the war. In the area of fishing, plans are far from being executed (e.g., 80,000 t. of mackerel were to have been caught in 1956, and 4,000 were fished this shortfall could not be made up by the surplus of dories).

Apart from this, before 1950, the DPRK did not export fruit, now it is being exported. The totality of these issues combines into the fact that despite the growth of grain production, there is a shortage of grains.

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Brzeziński Henryk

[trans. note: followed by signature]

1st Secretary of the PRL Embassy in the DPRK

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DOCUMENT No. 5

[Obtained for NKIDP by Jakub Poprocki and translated for NKIDP by Maya Latynski.]

Embassy of the Pyongyang, 4.IV.1957
People's Republic of Poland
in Pyongyang [trans. note: tilted stamp]
No. 267/37/2421/57/ [trans. note: illegible initials]

Secret [trans. note: added by hand]

Note

Memorandum of conversation with the 1st Secretary of the Embassy of the USSR, Comr. Pimenov of 26-27-28-29.III.1957

In February, Comr. Pimenov had asked me whether he could go with me to our Mission in Panmunjon. After discussing this matter with Comr. Brzostowski, we agreed on a date to visit the mission, 26-29 March 1957.

During the journey, as well as at the destination in Panmunjon, the following issues were brought up with Comr. Pimenov:

1. The issue of groups within the leadership of the DPRK.

Comr. Pimenov brought up the issue of Heo Gai (secretary of the C[entral] C[ommittee], who after the 4th plenum (toward the end of the war) had been accused of wanting to appropriate power for himself in the DPRK. Heo Gai had come from the Soviet Union. The official version of Heo Gai's shortcomings spoke of an incorrect attitude toward party discipline and an excessive removal of people from the party. Heo Gai committed suicide. The Korean comrades assessed this fact as a deed unworthy of a communist, indicating the fact that Heo Gai feared revealing secret matters that burdened him. Shortly thereafter came the issue of the minister of communications Bak Ilu, who stemmed from the activists who had previously been active on Chinese territory. This minister had been removed and isolated for a certain length of time under house arrest for his attitude to the people who had come from the Soviet Union. Then in 1955 came the case of Vice Minister of Culture Cheon Yul, who promoted that everything that is Soviet is good and right, and rejected and denied Korean cultural heritage. After the December plenum of the CC in 1955, at which Kim Il Sung sharply condemned such activity, a new Vice Minister of Culture and Science, who had finished the Higher Party School in the USSR, was named.

At the beginning of 1956 sentiments grew against Koreans who had come from the USSR. These sentiments arose among the broad masses and were born from the bottom (in Pimenov's opinion). A consequence of these sentiments was the fact of removals from work and certain harassment of people who had arrived from the USSR. Comr. Pimenov gave as a reason for this kind of phenomena that people who had arrived

from the USSR were being placed in quite well-paying positions, these people did not always behave correctly and differed in their way of life from the nation, which caused frictions. This harassment has currently quieted down, and attempts are being made to correct the harm done to people who returned from the USSR.

After the 20th Congress quite a wide group arose among party activists, which criticized the existing method of placing and educating the cadres and the absence of freedom of discussion in the party. This group spread out its activity widely during the absence of the Korean government delegation in the countries of people's democracies. After the delegation's return, the question of this group's activities was presented to Kim Il Sung. It was intended to summon a plenum at the beginning of August (the delegation returned around July 20). The plenum was put off until the end of August. In this period, those persons among CC members who spoke out in favor of this group were summoned to the CC. The talks at the CC that were conducted had a specific character, with the goal of isolating the active members of the group. In the talks, pressure was exerted on the CC members so that they would not support the slogans of the group. As a consequence of this activity, at the August plenum (30 and 31 August) the members of the group were not permitted to speak at all. There was general shouting[:] off the podium with you! Then during the second day of the plenum's deliberations, four persons from this group fled to China. China, despite a request from the DPRK, did not send these persons back to Korea. At the August plenum, the representatives and sympathizers of this group were condemned very sternly. They were expelled from the party. A special resolution was passed on this subject. The runaways to China reached the CC of China at the time when a Party Congress was taking place in China. Mikoyan and Peng Dehuai arrived in Korea then for an unofficial visit. As a result of the talks that were conducted with the leadership of the DPRK party, a new resolution toward the group was adopted at the September plenum of the CC of the Workers' Party. The people removed (at the August plenum) were admitted into the party and it was agreed that both resolutions toward the group would be published in the press to allow the nation to assess the reasons for the change in position. It was also agreed that those people would not be persecuted. As Comr. Pimenov asserted, this agreement is not currently being honored in the DPRK. The press did not publish the resolutions of both plena, those who spoke up at the August plenum are being finished off by various methods (politically-administratively). Comr. Pimenov responded to the question of whether the activities of the group had died down by stating that the topic has quite died down. He then mentioned in this context that Pak Changok former Vice Premier came from the USSR and Choe Changik from China. (both were members of the Political Bureau in the DPRK presidium of the CC).

Following the September plenum, the minister of construction Gim Seunghwa was removed. The Minister of Construction had been part of that group. Because of the widespread popularity of minister Gim Seunghwa it was not dared to cause any administrative harm to him, he was sent to the higher Party School in the USSR. After the minister's departure, articles which sharply vilified the minister appeared in the press. Comr. Pimenov stressed that it would not be strange if Gim Seunghwa were to act like Yi Sangjo (former DPRK Ambassador to the USSR), i.e., ask for asylum.

I am writing this part of my note on the basis of conversations with Comr. Pimenov during the trip to Panmunjon, as well as from the week before, when I invited Comr. Pimenov to go hunting.

2. Comr. Pimenov, traveling to Panmunjon, wished to orient himself about how the situation in the NNSC [Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission] presents itself in general outline, how cooperation with the Swedes and Swiss is working out and what issues are currently on the agenda in the Commission.

Minister Brzostowski provided information on this subject. Apart from this, Comr. Pimenov paid a visit to the Korean General Jeon Seongok (chairman of the Military Armistice Commission on behalf of the DPRK). General Jeon Seongok told Comr. Pimenov about his meeting with general An of South Korea (October of last year). At this meeting, which was organized with the assistance of the Swedes, several issues were discussed, including the question of reunifying Korea. Jeon Seongok assessed the meeting positively. The meeting lasted one and a half hours. It was decided then that further meetings would take place. No further meetings have taken place. Jeon Seongok believes that the Americans became mixed up in the matter. The incident with the airplane from the south, which was shot down in the territory of the DPRK also had a certain influence. Jeon Seongok's and Minister Brzostowski's opinions on the issue of conditions present in the DPRK overlapped.

3. On the issue of Soviet advisers present in Korea, Comr. Pimenov emphasized that the Korean comrades demanded the recalling of nearly all Soviet advisers. Right now there remains an adviser from the State Commission for Economic Planning (until May, the deadline for the development of the 5-year plan) and a military adviser. The military adviser will probably be recalled shortly, and an office of Military Attache will be created.

4. Comr. Pimenov promised to relay data concerning an agreement about scientifictechnical cooperation between the USSR and the DPRK. We will be informed what the Korean side demanded and what the USSR can offer.

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Ministry of Foreign Affairs] Dep. V

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Brzeziński Henryk
[signature]
1st Secretary of the Embassy of the
P[olska] R[zeczpospolita]
L[udowa—People's Republic of
Poland—PRP] in the DPRK

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DOCUMENT No. 6

[Obtained for NKIDP by Jakub Poprocki and translated for NKIDP by Maya Latynski.]

Embassy of the Pyongyang, 29.VIII.1957
People's Republic of Poland
in Pyongyang [trans. note: tilted stamp]

No. 695/144/2421/57/tjn. [transl. note: most likely short for *tajne*, secret)

Note

Memorandum of conversation conducted on 27.8.57 with the counselor of the Embassy of the USSR, Comr. Makarov

The aim of the conversation was to gain information about the premises of the DPRK's 5-year plan. Makarov is the main economic advisor, directs Soviet specialists in the DPRK. Makarov was in Moscow with Kim Il (vice premier) for consultations on control figures of the 5-year plan.

The 5-year plan is establishing the following general premises: a. the creation of foundations for the industrialization of the country, b. the completion of the collectivization of agriculture, c. solutions in principle to the issues of food, clothing and the issue of housing.

The five-year plan has, in contrast to the three-year plan, been developed in principle by the Korean comrades themselves (the three-year plan was developed by Soviet advisers with help from the Korean side).

The 5-year plan, as Makarov relayed it, does not presume a multifaceted development of the economy or economic independence, which at one time was reflected in the resolutions of the 3rd congress of the workers' party.

The plan plots out the development of the economy on the basis of the existing resources and natural riches. The basic proportion between groups A and B is kept from 1956, i.e., 53:47. A growth in the countryside's income of over 32% and in the city's of over 29% is assumed. An average tempo for the development of industry of 19% is assumed. The overall investment outlays in the 5-year plan have been set at 152 billion won (in the three-year plan the relevant amount was around 85 billion won).

In agriculture, the achievement of 3,7000,000 [transl. note: one zero too many in original, should be 3,700,000] tons of grains (in 1956, 2,870,000 tons were obtained).

The lifting of the ration card system is intended. Toward the end of the 5-year plan, the Koreans want to export a certain amount of grain. In the last years of the plan a balancing of imports and exports is expected. The nature of exports will not be subjected to more significant changes.

During the consultations in Moscow, the Korean comrades were reminded of a

range of issues:

1. The Soviet comrades drew attention to the fact that too big a tempo of growth in production (19%) had been assumed, and also that 152 billion won set aside for investment would cause excessive stresses in construction, the material economy and in the workforce.

The Korean comrades admitted that the assumed tempo of investment would lead to the indicated difficulties.

2. Attention was paid to the advisability and economic results of several of the planned construction sites. E.g., there was a plan to build yet another textile industrial complex. The consultation explained that there exists a real possibility of increasing the power of an existing industrial complex by 50%. Hence, it is not advisable to build a new complex.

It was agreed together that the Korean comrades would broaden the cultivation of cotton to over 70,000 ha. (currently 24,000). Comr. Makarov stressed that in this way the Korean comrades will secure for themselves raw materials and help from the USSR, which supplied cotton to the DPRK.

The plan foresaw the melting of 700,000 tons of pig iron, 600,000 t. of steel in 1961. It was stressed that this is too costly for Korea because there is no coke in the DPRK. The Korean comrades intended to construct one hydro-electric power plant and one thermal one in Pyongyang. It was advised that it would be better to exploit cascades. (An overall power of electric power plants of 2,000,000 kW is being planned. Basically the development of electric energy will progress behind the development of industry). All the recommendations made by the Soviet comrades were accepted. Currently, consultations are being conducted with China.

On the question of management of industry in the 5-year plan, a further drawing close of the management organs to production is foreseen. On this occasion, comr. Makarov remarked that the leadership of the DPRK is implementing the resolutions of the 20th congress [of the CPSU CC] wisely and capably. Gradually, slightly, from the top, the results of the cult of personality are being removed. This is the only way out in Korea's conditions, where the degree of backwardness of the masses is high. Kim Il Sung was a god and a tsar earlier, one cannot change this idea among the people abruptly, since this may cause undesirable, unforeseeable consequences. Kim Il Sung strives for changes. Makarov, who often meets with Kim Il Sung in various circumstances, relayed that Kim Il Sung has changed immensely.

Made 3 cop[ies]

2 cop[ies] Dep[artment] V

1 cop. a/a

Brzeziński Henryk

[trans. note: followed by signature]

Charge d'Affaires a.i. of the Embassy of the
P[eople's] Republic of P[oland] in the DPRK

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DOCUMENT No. 7

[Obtained for NKIDP by Jakub Poprocki and translated for NKIDP by Maya Latynski.]

Embassy of the
People's Republic of Poland
in Pyongyang [trans. note: stamp]

Pyongyang, 16.X.1957

Secret [trans. note: added by hand]

No. 833/156/2421/57/tjn. [transl. note: most likely short for *tajne*, secret)

Note

Memorandum of conversation with comr. Pimenov 1st Secretary of the Embassy of the USSR on 15.10.1957

The conversation had the goal of gaining information about the situation in the Workers' Party in connection with the recent events regarding the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group.

Pimenov presented this matter in the following way. The Pak Changok and Choe Changik group took the floor at the August plenum of last year in the spirit of the resolutions of the 20th Congress fighting the cult of personality, raising the standard of living of the population and so on. This group was standing on the foundation of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, on the foundation of cooperation with the USSR and all the countries of people's democracies. The Pak Changok and Choe Changik group placed its problems within the framework of the party in the discussion at the plenum. Further on, comr. Pimenov told about the course of the August plenum with the escape of the four to China and also the resolution of the September plenum, about which we already informed at the time.

The Hungarian events awakened concern among the leadership of the DPRK and suspicions regarding the further activities of the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group. An investigation was begun regarding the persons from this group. It was not found that members of the group maintain contacts with one another or conduct some underground activity. In the press and in party work, a widely planned action was conducted against the group. In May and June of the current year, several professors of the Kim Il Sung University in Pyongyang began to declare views close to the August group's with accents of petit bourgeois ideology at the university. This issue stopped in the university's party organization. Students and professors condemned the activity of the abovementioned professors. Those who had been declaring views close to the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group were excluded from the party and removed from the university. It must be

stressed that this whole issue, as comr. Pimenov said, did not go outside the framework of the university, and also did not meet any sort of broader support. In July of this year, a group of mid-level activists, including also some from the Pyongyang party committee, out of fear of repressions planned to escape to China and ask for asylum, similarly to how the four did it last year after the August plenum. This group was arrested. It is believed that these people were connected in some way to the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group. This event gave rise to anxiety among the DPRK leadership. An investigation and arrests began. The investigation is continuing, so far there is a lack of results and data. Pak Changok, Choe Changik and Kim Byeongi (an employee of the Ministry of Foreign Trade) have been placed under house arrest. All three remain members of the CC of the party. The outcomes of the investigation so far, about which the Korean comrades are speaking in unofficial conversations with the Soviet comrades, are as follows: the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group did not intend to achieve a coup by force or fundamental changes in policy, they aimed to gain a majority at the plenum so as to achieve a change in leadership in this way. Comr. Pimenov gave this reasoning as his opinion following talks with Korean comrades. In the opinion of Korean comrades, a certain group of people joined the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group, using the same slogans as they had voiced, and intended to make a change in the leadership by force. This group did not promote an ideological program. Some of these people were said to have aimed to bring about a Korean Poznań last year. Probably, as the Korean comrades assert, American and Syngman Rhee's spies joined in this activity. So far, no concrete ties between the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group and spies and saboteurs have been established.

In Pimenov's opinion, all activity aimed at achieving changes in the government by way of force was and is unrealistic because the active group was very limited in number and had no wider support from the working class or the peasantry. In August of this year, an series of meetings was begun, and is still continuing in those ministries where arrests had been conducted or where there had been suspicions toward certain persons regarding ties to the group or their unclear stance on the question of the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group, and an intensive action of raising party loyalty has been carried out. These meetings, according to comr. Pimenov, quite often have the character of moral pressure and unsophisticated criticism. There have been cases of suicides following such meetings. These meetings wrongly fire up the question of the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group. Recently a campaign was begun in the whole country to raise party loyalty and class upbringing.

On the issue of the new composition of the Supreme Assembly and government, comr. Pimenov asserted that the people chosen for it are not ones about whom there were suspicions that they are in any way connected to or have taken an insufficiently clear stand on the question of the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group. E.g.: Gim Dubong, who, despite the fact that in January of this year at a meeting of trade employees he cut himself off from the group and condemned all factional activity, was not elected to the composition of the new government; similarly; the minister of communications, who for the past half-year had been acting minister, also did not come into the composition of the new cabinet. At this moment, as Pimenov said, no opinions or comments on the topic of the changes have been made in the new government.

In Pimenov's opinion, and this is what is being said at the Soviet Embassy, the

DPRK's party policies and economic activities are correct. The society is supporting the party's and government's policies. A delegation of Soviet correspondents, after returning to Pyongyang from a trip of several weeks around the DPRK, relayed unanimous and universal voices that people are living better than during the Japanese times. Workers and peasants talked about this with the correspondents.

On the issue of this year's crops, Pimenov said that among the DPRK leadership, one hears the figure of 3,200,000 t., which means that it is expected that less will be harvested than had been assumed (3.4 million), but enough that there will be no need for import. (350,000 t. have been imported).*

Made 3 cop[ies]

2 cop[ies] M[inisterstwo] S[praw] Z[agranicznych—Ministry of Foreign Affairs]
Dep[artment] V

1 cop[y] a/a

Brzeziński Henryk

[trans. note: followed by signature]

1st Secretary of the Embassy of
the PRL in the DPRK

* as a comparison, we are giving the figure that the grain harvest in the previous year amounted to 2,850,000 t.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 8

[Obtained for NKIDP by Jakub Poprocki and translated for NKIDP by Maya Latynski.]

Embassy of the
People's Republic of Poland
in Pyongyang [trans. note: tilted stamp]

Pyongyang, 24.X.1957

No. 828/154/2421/57/tjn. [trans. note: most likely short for *tajne*, secret; added by hand)

Note

From a conversation with comr. Pelishenko Counselor of the Embassy of the USSR on 22.X.1957

Pelishenko is in close contact with leading personalities of the DPRK and is well-oriented in the overall picture of issues in the DPRK.

The conversation aimed to gain information on the issue of the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group. Pelishenko believes that the matter of the group ought to be examined against a background of the general situation in the party and in the country. The party and government conducted a whole range of positive steps last and this year. In the autumn of last year, elections were held to the local People's Assemblies. The elections were organized well and brought good results. This year, after 9 years, elections

were held for the Supreme People's Assembly. The leadership of the DPRK clearly strengthened its authority and its ties to the public. An all-Korean discussion about the draft five-year plan was conducted. In agriculture, a new, better structure of sowing was introduced. One could give more examples testifying to the correct domestic policies of the DPRK.

An exchange of party cards has been conducted in the party, from May of this year a campaign of strengthening and raising class upbringing is being conducted. In the sphere of foreign policy, achievements are also noted. Certain trade contacts have been made with Japan, Burma, Indonesia. So that in the totality of areas one observes a strengthening of the party and government, strengthening of unity in the party. It is against the background of these achievements that one must analyze the issue of the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group. Pelishenko stated that the leadership of the DPRK believes that issues raised by the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group did not fit into the party framework. He did not give his own view of this subject.

Pelishenko stated that some of the persons from the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group (Pak Changok, a Korean who came from the USSR, Choe Changik from China) brought up the question of a Korean Poznań at the August plenum this year.

Following the known position taken by the Workers' Party leadership toward the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group at the August and September plena, the whole process of escapes to China began.

It is Pelishenko's opinion that the group's main organizers are in China. The process of escapes to China lasted until January 1957. In this period the minister of internal trade was one of the people who escaped. In 1957 no further escapes to China were observed. Pelishenko assesses the pronouncements of a small group of professors (not many over 10 persons) at the university in Pyongyang as hostile, reactionary. According to Pelishenko, three persons were arrested. Then in June and July a certain group of the mid-level activists escaped to China.

The investigation that is being conducted in the DPRK in connection with the suspicions of the activities of the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group has so far rendered no results. In Pelishenko's opinion, this group's activity is of a character that is purely internal for North Korea. It is a result of Korean conditions, of a composite, complex character. The DPRK leadership is attempting to approach this matter cautiously so as not to cause distortions. At the same time, the fact is being taken into account that a change needed to be made in the position of the general prosecutor, for a bad carrying out of the amnesty. (It was necessary to re-arrest some of those who had been let go from the Jindallae organization. See note No. 616/134/2421/57/tjn – we are entering an amendment to that note in which we had written the name of this organization inaccurately as Czindale).

The DPRK leadership is trying to carry out only a few arrests. In Pelishenko's opinion the main arrests are carried out in the ministry of culture and education, as well as the ministry of construction. Pelishenko denied that broader arrests are being carried out in the Office of the Council of Ministers. In his opinion, one person has been arrested in the Office of the Council of Ministers.

The campaign of meetings is being conducted in those ministries where there are people connected to the group. At this moment one cannot gauge the situation relating to the activities of the group from the lack of data from the investigation.

Pelishenko stated that in his view China does not intend to hand over the escapees. At some point the Korean side brought up this matter. The talks ended without a result. The Korean side will not bring up this matter a second time.

At the end of the conversation Pelishenko stated that the DPRK is conducting preparations for a party conference related to the passage of the 5-year plan.

On the issue of production of textiles, in Pelishenko's opinion in the DPRK [illegible figure] of cotton cloth per capita [last eight words are illegible].

Made 3 cop[ies]

1 cop[y] MSZ [trans. note: Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych—Ministry of Foreign Affairs] Dep[artment] V

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1 cop[y, rest illegible]

Brzeziński Henryk

[trans. note: followed by signature]

1st Secretary of the PRL Embassy in the DPRK

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 9

[Obtained for NKIDP by Jakub Poprocki and translated for NKIDP by Maya Latynski.]

Embassy of the Pyongyang,
People's Republic of Poland
in Pyongyang [trans. note: tilted stamp]

27.XI.1957

No. 984/166/2421/57/tjn. [trans. note: most likely short for *tajne*, secret]

Note

Memorandum of a conversation with comr. Berentz, 3rd Secretary of the Embassy of the GDR of 26-27.XI of this year

Berentz was interested in the question of Polish aid to the DPRK and the situation in the DPRK. I relayed these issues to my conversation partner according to instructions from the Ambassador.

In 1953-55, the GDR has given assistance to the DPRK in the amount of 350 million rubles. In the second phase of assistance, in 1955-1964, another 350 mil. rubles, with a distribution of 35,000,000 annually. At this moment the DPRK is incapable of using 35,000,000 rubles of assistance annually. I.e., the DPRK is incapable of delivering the appropriate number of people and construction materials.

The GDR assistance is designated for the construction of the city of Hamhung

and construction of several factories in that city. The situation is such that after the assistance is finished, Hamhung will look like an oasis (Berentz's term) vis-à-vis the rest of the country. The Koreans have come to the GDR government with a request to shift a part of the GDR's assistance to other cities in Korea. The government of the GDR has not accepted this request. The government of the GDR has agreed to extend the assistance for a further two years, but on the condition that the whole assistance will be devoted to the city of Hamhung.

Berentz informed me about the methods of the security apparatus of the DPRK being used vis-à-vis the leading Korean persons in Hamhung who are suspected of participation in the activities of the August group (the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group). Security functionaries came to the Director of the construction trust in Hamhung and ordered the director to write about his ideology. The director wrote in a room that had been closed off by the security functionaries. After some time the security functionaries entered the room, read what the director had written. After the reading, the director was told "we know more about you, so write again." This process lasted several weeks toward some people. In the meantime, arrests of some people were carried out, while some wrote about their ideology and worked. In this situation, according to Berentz, there were cases of suicide (by hanging).

[trans. note: illegible sentence]

Made 3 cop[ies]

2 cop[ies] MSZ [trans. note: Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych—Ministry of Foreign Affairs] Dep[artment] V

1 cop[y, rest illegible]

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Brzeziński Henryk

[trans. note: followed by signature]

1st Secretary of the P[olska] R[zeczpospolita] L[udowa—
People's Republic of Poland] Embassy in the DPRK

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 10

[Obtained for NKIDP by Jakub Poprocki and translated for NKIDP by Maya Latynski.]

Embassy of the
People's Republic of Poland
in Pyongyang [trans. note: tilted stamp]

Pyongyang, 2.XII.1957

No. 984/169/2421/57/tjn. [trans. note: most likely short for *tajne*, secret; added by hand]

Note

Memorandum of conversation with Botsin, the deputy director of the economic office at the

Emb[assy] of the USSR on 30.XI.1957

Botsin gave me some statistical data about the DPRK. (we will send the data by courier.) Keeping in mind that we receive the data not from the Koreans and that this data is treated as secret in the DPRK, we ask that these materials not be distributed more widely.

Botsin said that the USSR's help for the DPRK ends in 1959. With the help of the USSR, about 30 large and mid-size factories have been built. 12 more factories remain to be built. This year, 9 have been put into use. All the factories built with the USSR's assistance surpass the planned productive power, which in Botsin's opinion speaks very well for the Korean specialists and workers.

In December, said Botsin, the 4th Soviet-Korean session on the question of scientific-technical cooperation will take place (the question of the realization of the pertinent Polish-Korean agreement has not budged). The Koreans presented the following issues for the session: the USSR's assistance to build weaving machines and machines for the silk industry. What specialists the USSR will accept for 1959 and so on.

Botsin claims that the Soviet comrades will counsel against the construction of a machine factory. They will counsel [in favor of] the construction of factories of spare parts for these machines.

This Korean request, in my opinion, shows that there still exist tendencies in the DPRK to build industry that is comprehensively developed. Botsin said that there are not the conditions yet in the DPRK to build this kind of quite complicated and precise machine. Later on, he stated that a year ago the USSR relayed to the DPRK technological documentation for 45 factories for new kinds of production. This matter was not touched by the Korean industry for the whole year. Botsin thinks that this is happening because of a shortage of appropriate cadres in the DPRK.

Made 3 cop[ies]

2 cop[ies] M[inisterstwo] S[praw] Z[agranicznych—Ministry of Foreign Affairs]

Dep[artment] V

1 cop[y] a/a

Brzeziński Henryk

[trans. note: followed by signature]

1st Secretary of the PRL Embassy in the DPRK

Attachment 1

[transl. note: added by hand]

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 11

[Obtained for NKIDP by Jakub Poprocki and translated for NKIDP by Maya Latynski.]

Embassy of the
People's Republic of Poland
in Pyongyang [trans. note: tilted stamp]

Pyongyang, 7.XII.1957

No. 17/8/2425/58/tjn. [trans. note: most likely short for *tajne*, secret; added by hand)

SECRET [trans. note: tilted stamp]

Note

Memorandum of conversation with Chen Wen Chin, 1st Secretary of the Embassy of the PRC of 6.XII.1957

The conversation aimed to gain information about the PRC's remarks on the issue of the DPRK's 5-year plan.

The consultation in China on the issue of the 5-year plan of the DPRK began on 12.IX.57 and lasted over 20 days. Heading the delegation from the DPRK side was Kim Il (Vice Premier who had also been in the USSR on similar business), from the PRC one of the Vice Premiers.

The delegation worked in two groups:

1. group discussed the 5-year plan,
2. group discussed issues of trade in the 5-year plan.

About the 5-year plan the main currents of the plan, tempo, the balance sheet, industry-agriculture, some norms were discussed. In the discussions, the Chinese relied above all on the experiences of their own 5-year plan. The Chinese side deems the general outline of the DPRK's 5-year plan as appropriate and useful. This was rationalized by the fact that the plan had been developed with the backing of their own base and forces. The plan foresees securing the economy with resources and raw materials. On the basis of their own experiences, the Chinese informed the Koreans that agriculture has a big influence in solving general tasks of the economy. The speed of the development of agriculture strongly influences the speed of the development of industry. The Chinese informed [the Koreans] that in the period of their 5-year plan, the year 1955 had very good crops and the years 1954 and 1956 were bad. Because of this, supplies were lower in China in those years, which was reflected in industry, and financial profits diminished. The Chinese believed that on the basis of their own experience they learned the importance of agriculture. In the second 5-year plan the development of various branches of industry and agriculture will be done. In industry, pressure will be placed on the development of those branches that influence the development of agriculture. In the first 5-year plan, the Chinese planned to invest 5.7% of overall investment in agriculture. In practice, 8% was invested. 12% is being foreseen for the second 5-year plan.

The Chinese recognized the assumed speed of development of agriculture in the Korean plan as active, but at the same time deemed the investment as insufficient.

On the issue of the development of industry in Korea, the Chinese indicated that the shortage of some raw materials should be noticed. Apart from that, in the Chinese opinion one should not build those branches of industry that are not indispensable to the country's economy and at the same time the export of that production is difficult. (I think that here it was a question of the machine and precision industries).

In the opinion of the Chinese, long-term plans should be developed on the basis of proven data.

The realization of the first 5-year plan in China has demonstrated that bad years

in agriculture were not appreciated, as a result of which there were difficulties in China.

In construction, too many resources have been put into non-productive construction. This shortcoming had not been anticipated.

In the area of culture and education, it is being currently considered in China that education, especially higher education, should be developed on the basis of progressing development of industry and agriculture. In other words, the development of industry and agriculture should be the basis for the appropriate development of education.

The Chinese said that some underappreciated improving the population's living standards. In this area, one should take great caution to make sure that the appropriate mass of goods be found on the market together with an increase in wages.

The Chinese asserted that the slogan "through the growth in work and production output to the rise in the standard of living" had been unclear, and in particular cases led to misunderstandings (e.g., in those factories where output of work and production really did grow, and the general situation did not allow for an appropriate rise in the standard of living).

The Chinese counseled [the Koreans on] planning an increase in the standard of living for the long period, that is, a 5-year plan on the basis of the most justified foundations. Better to plan a lower increase in the standard of living. It is better to go over the planned growth than not to fulfill promises.

The Chinese stressed that to raise the standard of living, agriculture is of the utmost importance. They cautioned [the Koreans] to count on and be cognizant of the possibility of bad crop years.

The Chinese recommended watching the balance of raw materials and the market for production. It was advised that the government always have the possibility of supporting agriculture.

On the question of trade, the Koreans asked for the delivery of some of the goods that are unprofitable in China. The Chinese government has in mind aid to Korea and in this sphere has reached an agreement with the DPRK. In the talks, the basic quantities of the more important goods which will be delivered by China in the course of the next 5 years were set. In 1958 China will deliver 700,000 t. of coking coal and 170,000 t. of brown coal. 30,000 t. of coke, 30,000 t. of soy (this quantity will fully satisfy the DPRK's needs).

The Koreans withdrew the import of grains.

5,500 t. of sulphur, 3,300 t. of rubber (it was requested) 3,100 t. will be delivered. The Koreans asked for 12,000 t. of cotton. As we know, China has not fulfilled the goals of the 5-year plan in the production of cotton, hence they will deliver 8,000 t. for 1958 to the DPRK. They asked for 1,500 t. of cotton yarn: 500 t. will be delivered. They asked for 10,000,000 of cotton fabric, 5,000,000 will be delivered. In 1959 China will deliver the same amount of coal and coke to the DPRK as in 1958. Sulphur in 1959-61 on the level of 1958. Here, it was suggested that the Koreans exploit their own pyrite. In 1959 the deliveries of cotton and cotton yarn will be reduced. In 1960 deliveries of cotton will be halted. Small amounts of yarn and textiles. In 1959-61 rubber on the level of 1958. It was agreed that world prices will be adhered to in trade.

The Chinese promised to take into account further Korean wishes as they develop their own second 5-year plan. The Koreans suggested to China the signing of a long-term trade treaty. The Chinese recommended that this issue be put off until the

second 5-year plan is developed in China.

In the course of the later general conversation Chen Wen Chin said that at one point the Koreans asked China to build the following complete factories: a tannery, a factory for glass vessels, a factory for silk and a factory of perfume production.

China pointed to concrete possibilities of using the Korean production power, and the Korean side no longer mentions the construction of the above-mentioned factories.

Chen Wen Chin gave the following as the more important steps in the economic sphere that have recently been taken by the DPRK: 1. the lifting of the ration card system (except rice); 2. the creation of a state monopoly in buying and selling grains; 3. the strengthening of oversight over private trade.

Made 3 cop[ies]

2 cop[ies] M[inisterstwo] S[praw] Z[agranicznych—Ministry of Foreign Affairs]

Dep[artment] V

1 cop[y] a/a

Brzeziński Henryk

[trans. note: followed by signature]

1st Secretary of the P[olska] R[zeczpospolita]

People's Republic of Poland] Embassy

L[udowa—
in the DPRK

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 12

[Obtained for NKIDP by Jakub Poprocki and translated for NKIDP by Maya Latynski.]

No. 31/D.V.

/-/ Ogrodziński

Receiving:

Comr. Cyrankiewicz

Comr. Gomułka

Comr. Jędrychowski

Comr. Loga-Sowiński

Comr. Morawski

Comr. Ochab

Comr. Rapacki

Comr. Zambrowski

Comr. Zawadzki

Comr. Albrecht

Comr. Gierek

Comr. Jarosiński

Comr. Kliszko

Comr. Matwin
Comr. Wierbłowski
Comr. Dłuski
Comr. Czesak
Comr. Naszkowski
Comr. Wierna

Warsaw, 9.XII.57

Top secret

Note

concerning] the political situation in the DPRK

According to] the information of the People's Republic of Poland Embassy in the DPRK coming from the Koreans and the diplomatic corps, the means of repression of persons connected to the so-called "August group" (a group under the leadership of former members of the Politbureau of the CC of the Korean Workers' Party, Pak Changok and Choe Changik, which took the floor at the CC Plenum in August of last year with a criticism of the DPRK party and government leadership – the cult of personality, distortions of inner-party democracy, a low standard of living – and strove for a change in the leadership, having prepared the composition of a new government with Choe Changik at the helm. Some of the members of the group fled to China after the Plenum and presumably remain there. The former DPRK ambassador to the USSR, Li Sangjo who was connected to the group has refused to return and probably remained in the Soviet Union. According to a different version, he is at the party school in Beijing. He has developed his activity among students and Korean citizens in the USSR) have been sharpened.

Even though the Korean comrades continue to say that the August group did not represent a larger force and did not have broader influence, the facts seem to point to the fact that a part of the intelligentsia, young writers, students and employees of the party and state apparatuses backed the group. But there is a lack of data that would show that the group had support from the working class and the peasantry.

The quite far reach of the group's influence, as well as the recently noticed certain broadening of their influence (in May and June, a small group of professors pronouncing views close to the views of the "August group" spoke up at the University in Pyongyang. These professors were excluded from the party and removed from the University), have led the authorities of the DPRK to undertake repressive methods toward the people connected to it. A number of arrests and changes in the central offices were conducted, especially in those where the people from the "August group" were at the top (in the Office of the Council of Ministers, Ministry of Culture, Construction and the University). The arrests also included provincial centers. House arrest was implemented toward Pak Changok and Choe Changik. Kim Dubong, former Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK, was removed from state activity.

Meetings are being conducted in government offices and institutions with the

goal of explaining the party's policies and the anti-party activity of the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group. These meetings quite often serve as moral pressure, and cases of suicide have even been noted as a result of them. Currently, until March 1958, a campaign of raising party loyalty will be conducted in the whole party.

As a result of the repressive action among party activists and state employees, fear of arrest has begun to spread, which has led to the organization of a number of attempts to escape to the PRC (the last one took place in October of this year), where some of the main organizers of the "August group" are staying. According to the Soviet comrades, the PRC does not intend to hand over the escapees to the DPRK, despite the talks on this subject, which the Koreans have initiated.

Currently, an investigation of the case of the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group is being conducted. The results so far are as follows. The group did not intend to bring about a coup or fundamental changes in policy by force, it intended to gain a majority at the CC Plenum so as to bring about changes in the leadership in this way. In the opinion of Korean comrades, a particular group of people, who had the intention of changing the leadership by force, not stating any ideological program, took advantage of this. Last year, some of these people were to have aimed to bring about a "Korean Poznań." Indeed, the "August group" possessed a storm unit made up of students of the Institute of Construction (the Institute's building is located next to the CC), but apart from that no preparations of a military character have been ascertained, and the investigation did not so far show connections between members of the group and foreign intelligence organizations or saboteurs.

Analyzing the issue of the so-called "August group" against the overall political situation in the DPRK, one should conclude that currently it does not represent any important problem, since the internal situation in the DPRK is stabilizing increasingly. The latest decisions of the government and party leadership, such as striving to strengthen ties to the masses and attempts aimed at raising the standard of living, have strengthened the position of the current leadership.

/-/ Słuczański

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DOCUMENT No. 13

[Obtained for NKIDP by Jakub Poprocki and translated for NKIDP by Maya Latynski.]

Embassy of the
People's Republic of Poland
in Pyongyang [trans. note: tilted stamp]
No. 20/12/2421/58/tjn [trans. note: added by hand; tjn probably means *tajne*, secret]

Pyongyang, 17.XII.57

SECRET [trans. note: tilted stamp]

Note

Memorandum of conversations with Pimenov, 1st Secretary of the Embassy of the USSR, on

16.XII.1957

The conversation had as its goal gaining information about the Workers' Party Plenum CC plenum.

Pimenov did not know about the critique of the former minister of coal industry. As for other people (see note No. 22/14/2421/58/tjn), he confirmed the facts of the critique by the plenum.

At the beginning Pimenov briefly described the speech by Kim Il Sung. He stressed that the proposals presented in the speech regarding the unification of Korea bring nothing new but represent a systematization of the total of previous proposals. (we will send the text of the speech by the next courier). A broad group of party activists were invited to the plenum. The plenum lasted two days. After Kim Il Sung's speech, Bak Geumcheol, vice-chairman of the party, took the floor. In a very detailed way, Bak Geumcheol recounted his impressions from his trip to Moscow on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the revolution. He devoted a significant part of his speech to the issues of the August group. Bak Geumcheol criticized Bak Uiwan (Uiwan simply means the Russian name Ivan) very sharply for supporting and cooperating with the August group. For supporting former minister Gim Seunghwa and his policies in construction. Bak Geumcheol equally sharply criticized the former minister of purchases, O Giseok for his speeches against some members of the CC of the People's Party. Pimenov said that Gim Dubong was also criticized. Gim Dubong was criticized also for wanting to send a letter to the brotherly parties asking them to grant assistance because the situation in the Workers' Party was difficult.

Gim Dubong took part in the discussion and said that he would accept all party punishment and in the future would not spare his life for the cause of the revolution. Basically, as Pimenov said (Pimenov talked about the plenum with several persons who had been at the plenum), Gim Dubong did not deny the accusations regarding his ties to the group. Further discussants gave examples that the group aimed to overthrow the government with the help of using force. Hence calls came from the hall to take the issue to court. Bak Uiwan took part in the discussion twice. Bak Uiwan's speech is considered unsuccessful. The assembly reacted to Bak Uiwan's words unfavorably. Voices of "confess" and so forth came from the hall. Bak Uiwan's speeches were often interrupted with various rejoinders. Pimenov did not confirm the fact of calling out "off the podium" about which I wrote in the note No. 22/14/2421/58/tjn/. Bak Uiwan did not accept the critique. He did not agree with the accusations being made. Bak Uiwan, after Ko Bonggi (former secretary of Pyongyang) admitted that he had wrongly criticized Bak Geumcheol and Han Doosan (former dir[ector] of the organizational dep[artment] of the CC, currently chairman of Trade Unions after the escape of Seo Hwi).

In this particular case, the question is like this: toward the end of 1955 and in early 1956, following the correct critique (in Pimenov's opinion) of mistakes in the cultural policies of the DPRK conducted by vice-minister Cheon Yul and others, this policy consisted of a mechanical copying of the cultural policy of the USSR. Funny things happened. E.g., in the geography textbooks of the USSR it was written that Mongolia lies to the south-east of the USSR, the same was copied in Korea's textbooks. If the repair of this policy was necessary and right, then in the process of change of this policy a campaign of persecuting Korean cit[izens] who had come to Korea from the

USSR was developed. A wrong and broad political campaign aimed against innocent people developed. Bak Uiwan had at one time criticized Bak Geumcheol and Han Doosan for taking no steps to sever this wrong and harmful campaign aimed against Korean citizens who had arrived from the USSR (Bak Uiwan also came from the USSR, he is included in the so-called Russian group. At one time in Korea one included oneself in one of the following groups: the Korean, Chinese, Russian, Kim Il Sung, Japanese – those who had come from Japan and the South Korean).

At the last plenum, Ko Bonggi said that the whole campaign had been organized by Choe Changik and Pak Changok, as well as persons connected to them. At the same time, Choe Changik and Pak Changok collected appropriate shocking facts from this campaign and presented them to some persons from the DPRK leadership with the goal of creating discrepancy in the leadership of the DPRK. This is why Bak Uiwan in his speech referring to facts presented by Ko Bonggi deemed criticism of him [illegible] on the given issue by Geumcheol and Han Doosan. Bak Uiwan did not accept the other accusations. Bak Uiwan reserved for himself the right to speak at the Presidium of the CC. Kim Il Sung took the floor in the discussion. This speech by Kim Il Sung was not recorded on tape. Kim Il Sung assessed the group in the following way: the group was broken up already last year. The group possessed no ideological platform, the group was guided by careerist goals. Kim Il Sung suggested interrupting the discussion about the matter of the group because it is not polite to discuss the issue of such a group at such a festive plenum. Kim Il Sung announced that the CC Presidium will examine the new facts that were presented by the plenum. On the question of assessment of the activity of the group, Kim Il Sung recommended a precise examination of the facts without any impatience and nervousness. Pimenov noticed that Kim Il Sung did not use the terms used by the press about the group, such as: traitors of the revolution, enemies, and so on. To the Soviet comrades, Kim Il Sung's assessment seems reasonable.

On the question of Kim Dubong, Pimenov stated that Kim Dubong had at one time been the secretary of the New Democratic Party. Kim Dubong therefore had not been a communist.

On the matter of Cheon Dontaek (counselor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Pimenov states that Cheon Dontaek was one of the responsible employees in the sphere of culture. The party punishment which he received (about which I write in note No..... [trans. note: number not filled in] was for mistakes in cultural policy, for which he was co-guilty (Cheon Dontaek had come from the USSR).

Pimenov stated that a few months ago the Counselor of the DPRK Embassy in Czechoslovakia had been recalled for taking an erroneous position on the question of the cult of personality. This Counselor, Koh Jeongmin is currently working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a clerk.

Made 3 copies

2 copies Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych—Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Department V

1 copy a/a

Brzeziński Henryk

[trans. note: followed by signature]

1st Secretary of the PRL Embassy in the DPRK

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 14

[Obtained for NKIDP by Jakub Poprocki and translated for NKIDP by Maya Latynski.]

Embassy of the
People's Republic of Poland
in Pyongyang [trans. note: stamp]
No. 14/6/2421/58/tjn [trans. note: added by hand; tjn probably means *tajne*, secret]

Pyongyang, 5.I.1958

Top secret [trans. note: added by hand]

Note

Memorandum of conversation with the director of a department in one of the ministries on 5.I.1958*

The director, in the course of our conversation, following my report on the subject of democratic centralism in our party, told me about the relations existing among the Korean comrades. The director stated that both at a course in the CC and in individual conversations among Korean comrades, language and formulations from Kim Il Sung's speeches or articles in the newspapers are used most of all. At the course in the CC one must strongly follow the official formulations, and in no case may one use one's own words even while maintaining the official contents, if one does not want to be exposed to harsh criticism. From the top, the director asserted, great stress is placed on using the very political language that is included in official speeches or in the press. An independent way of thinking and one's own interpretation of particular political theses is sharply criticized and viewed badly. The atmosphere is of the kind that the comrades closely watch their own remarks in conversations among themselves. In case of deviation from official pronouncement, the case is brought up at a meeting of the party organization or, as is the case at the course in the CC, at party workshops. There are quite common cases of comrades taking notes on such individual conversations and, if a gaffe is noticed, the matter is placed before a party meeting. There is no freedom in conversations with comrades, claimed the director. This situation is difficult. People do not like this situation. Not liking this situation especially are those who by nature are more open... In the party and in private life it would be unthought-of to express the smallest critique or to express doubts regarding the correctness of this or that party directive from the party or the government.

If one does critique, then along the lines of the formulations used in official speeches. I.e., first one needs to point to a large number of achievements and then criticize what is officially being criticized. If one does not want to be deprived of the means of support and of all perspectives for the future, including removal from Pyongyang, one must act this way only. The director gave the example of a professor from the pedagogical institute, who spoke out with his own interpretation (which was in accordance in content with the officially given thought) of some political theses; he was

removed from his work, and a great problem of the improper behavior by the professor was created. For this reason, as the director stated, he does not speak freely on political subjects with his own wife, fearing that these issues may go further.

The director, who has been a party member for 7 years, stated that the foundation of the case which is decisive in the promotion of a given worker to a responsible position is membership in the Workers' Party. And also, for higher positions one must have party service going back to 1945 or 1948 or 1947.

In the ministry of Foreign Affairs of the DPRK, with the exception of a few technical employees, all are party members.

* for details see document No. 38/1/2421/58/tjn.

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2 cop[ies] M[inisterstwo] S[praw] Z[agranicznych—Ministry of Foreign Affairs]

Dep[artment] V

1 cop[y] a/a

Brzeziński Henryk

[trans. note: followed by signature]

1st Secretary of the P[olska] R[zeczpospolita]

People's Republic of Poland] Embassy

L[udowa—
in the DPRK

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 15

[Obtained for NKIDP by Jakub Poprocki and translated for NKIDP by Maya Latynski.]

Embassy of the

Pyongyang, 13.I.1958

People's Republic of Poland

in Pyongyang [trans. note: stamp]

No. [illegible] /2421/58/tjn [trans. note: added by hand; tjn probably means *tajne*, secret]

SECRET[trans. note: tilted stamp]

Note

Memorandum of conversation with the dir[ector] of the industry dep[artment] of the CC Ko Hwiman on 13.I.1958

The conversation aimed to gain information about the economic figures for 1957. Ko Hwiman stated that at the end of February or beginning of March of this year a conference of the Workers' Party will take place with the goal of passing the 5-year plan (1957-1961).

In March a plenum of the CC will take place on the issue of internal trade. At this moment in Pyongyang and other cities, numerous committees are working to collect the appropriate materials.

A CC plenum is being planned for June on the subject of broadening the assortment of production of goods of mass need. Ko Hwiman stated that in the DPRK currently, several thousand various types of goods are being produced. This situation is far from sufficient. This amount represents only a few % of the whole requirement. A range of simple items is missing from the market today. The city and the country surely cannot constantly buy cotton, silk materials, linen and rubber shoes – which are being produced currently in relatively large numbers. The shortage of many goods may slow down interest in the growth of production in the countryside. Apart from this, already now the countryside possesses so much money that it does not quite know what to spend it on. Hence the broadening of the assortment of goods and the growth of production have a decisive significance for raising the standard of living in the city and in the countryside and generally for the further development of the DPRK. Against this background, the bad work of the ministry of foreign and domestic trade (a single ministry) emerged very sharply. Ko Hwiman stated that in the course of the last year the raising of hogs developed significantly. In 1957 the number was reached that had been planned for the end of the 5-year plan (because of this, the goal in this sphere was doubled to 1,500,000 heads). The countryside possesses large numbers of domestic fowl, eggs and so on. Basically, the headage shows that the population of the DPRK can be given the proper amounts of meat. The bad work of trade stands as an obstacle to the realization of this possibility. Trade does not buy up goods from the countryside. The reasons are various. Apart from bad work, there are reasons such as the shortage of warehouses and means of transportation. It often happens that the purchased goods spoil from the lack of appropriate warehouses or also succumb to spoilage as a result of the shortage of means of transportation. This issue is very relevant with the sale of fresh fish (although recently, for a while, when private business existed one could buy fresh fish in Pyongyang). This year, for the first time, fish are being sold in unlimited quantities in port towns and surrounding areas, and their price is very low (10 won for a kilogram; this means that for the price of a packet of cigarettes one will be able to buy 5 kg. of fish). This is happening because in 1957 the catch of fish and sea products amounted to 590,000 t., i.e., almost as much as had been intended to be reached in 1959 (600,000 t.). Ko Hwiman listed these figures from memory: I believe that these numbers can be considered to be reliable save for only insignificant differences. Therefore the issue of trade and broadening of assortment of products are the priority tasks for which the DPRK's economic policy should find solutions.

On the issue of fulfilling the plan for 1957, Ko Hwiman stated that the plan had been fulfilled by 142% (additional commitments are already included in this). All the ministries have fulfilled the plan. All the ministries (except two) have also fulfilled additional production obligations. The year 1957 brought the state 17,600,000,000 won over the planned income (in this, the ministry of light industry 7,000,000,000 won). Of these 17,600,000,000 won, 3,000,000,000 are designated for an average 10% pay raise. The population will gain another 2,000,000,000 [won] from the lowering of the prices of meat and milk (the lowering of the prices of meat almost 30%, milk 50%). Therefore the state is entering a new economic year with an additional income of 12,600,000,000 won. This

money will be much needed as a reserve, and some of it will be devoted to social-cultural goals. In Korea a large obstacle in the development of the whole of industry is the shortage of coking coal. Ko Hwiman stated that the USSR is unable to deliver coking coal to the DPRK, China will lower the deliveries, so that coking coal represents a narrow place in the DPRK economy. The government has summoned a group of academics to extract [illegible] from Korean coal. This issue has still not been resolved. There are certain achievements already, which have been relayed to the USSR recently during a scientific-technical session (it is a question of adding iron ore during the making of coke).

In Ko Hwiman's opinion, taut production goals are not being assumed for 1958. The planned growth in production is to amount to 22.1% in relation to the actual level from 1957. Ko Hwiman stated that it is better to go over the plan and give the workers the possibility of meeting the plan and obtaining bonuses than not to meet the plan's goals (the Chinese argument).

No construction of new factories in new branches of industry will be assumed in 1958. The construction of factories that have already been started needs to be finished. The construction of a few cooling plants and two or three factories for processing corn into grits and corn flour is being planned. In January a reporting-electoral campaign is being conducted in enterprises in party organizations (in February in only two branches of industry). The campaign, in which the entire DPRK leadership and the central activists are taking part, has as its goal maintaining the same speed of production as December 1957. The Koreans do not want to allow the commonly known drop in production at the beginning of the year.

On the issue of the 5-year plan, Ko Hwiman stated that if the tempo of work from 1957 is maintained, the plan will be achieved in 4 years and 2 months.

The year 1957 was very difficult in the financial sphere. But the economic results give good prospects for resolving difficulties also in this area.

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2 cop[ies] M[inisterstwo] S[praw] Z[agranicznych—Ministry of Foreign Affairs]

Dep[artment] V

1 cop[y] a/a

Brzeziński Henryk

[trans. note: followed by signature]

1st Secretary of the P[olska] R[zeczpospolita]

People's Republic of Poland] Embassy

L[udowa—
in the DPRK

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 16

[Obtained for NKIDP by Jakub Poprocki and translated for NKIDP by Maya Latynski.]

DEP[artment] V

3 February 1958

SECRET [trans. note: stamp]

Comrade Minister

M. Naszkowski
in-house

Note

Reg[arding] the political situation in the DPRK

In December of last year, a Plenum of the CC KWP took place and was devoted to the report of the delegation of the Korean Workers' Party to the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution in Moscow.

The issue of the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group, accused of attempting to change the leadership during Kim Il Sung's stay in Europe in 1956, was revisited at the Plenum.

The former Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly, Kim Dubong, was criticized for ties to this group, and (for the first time) analogous accusations were made vis-à-vis the v[ice]-premier Bak Uiwan (he is in charge of construction matters).

Following a motion by Kim Il Sung, the discussion about matters of the group was interrupted, transferring newly revealed facts to be examined by the Presidium of the CC.

Kim Il Sung, in his speech, assessed the situation as follows: the group had been broken up already in 1956, it had no ideological platform and had been made up of careerists. All new facts must be examined precisely and without a nervous rush. In his speech, Kim Il Sung did not use expressions used by the Korean press of the kind: traitors of the revolution, enemies and so on.

In January of this year, Kim Il Sung had a briefing for the whole CC apparatus. This time he stated that the dispersion of the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group was the same kind of watershed moment for the party and the DPRK as the year 1946 had been, when the foundations of the democratic people's state were being built. He stated that the concept of the revisionists, according to whom the most important problem in Korea were the contradictions within the people, had been dealt with, when the most important one is the antagonistic contradiction of socialism-imperialism.

According to information of the PRL Embassy in Pyongyang, repressions against people suspected of connections to the "August group" are continuing.

As the Embassy informs, the campaign of party meetings, at which the cases of people tied to the Pak Changok and Choe Changik group are discussed, which has been going on for several months has caused tension in the party, which influences the totality of life in the DPRK.

Dep[artment] V is proposing the foll[owing] distribution list:

(This note would be distributed not as an internal [illegible word], but in among our own.

[trans. note: barely legible

signature]

Receiving:

Comr. Cyrankiewicz

Comr. Gomułka

Comr. Jędrychowski

Comr. Loga-Sowiński

Comr. Morawski
Comr. Ochab
Comr. Rapacki
Comr. Zambrowski
Comr. Zawadzki
Comr. Albrecht
Comr. Gierek
Comr. Jarosiński
Comr. Kliszko
Comr. Matwin
Comr. Wierbłowski
Comr. Dłuski
Comr. Czesak
Comr. Naszkowski
Comr. Winiewicz
Comr. Wierna
Comr. Ogrodziński

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 17

[Obtained for NKIDP by Jakub Poprocki and translated for NKIDP by Maya Latynski.]

As long as the correspondence abstract is not an appendix to the documents of a given case, it must be absolutely destroyed.

Top secret!

Correspondence abstract No. 3336 [trans. note: number filled into a preexisting form]
from Pyongyang [city filled in] on 19.3.58 [date filled in]

Comr. Słuczański

Comr. Siedlecki informs us in telegram No. 70 of the 18th of this month
Our 68th.

Agenda of the March conference:

1. Guidelines of the 5-year plan.
2. About the unity and cohesiveness of the party.
3. Organizational matters.

Re. 1. The fundamental task of the plan is to resolve at least in principle the problems of food, clothing and housing. Heavy industry: to develop above all those of its branches which are tied most closely to the above-mentioned issues. Here, I will give only 2 of the most important problems.

- a. the construction of machines: to develop also the production of machine tools, with the exception of the more complicated ones,
 - b. in view of the shortage of their own raw materials for the textile industry, to develop the production of synthetic textiles based on cellulose and calcium carbide.
- Light industry: as its main task, textiles, shoes, generally broaden the assortment, raise the quality. Construction program: 10 million square meters in the cities and 200 thousand houses in the countryside. The global value of industrial production grows 2.6 times. The minimal crop plan for '61 is 3 million 760 thousand tons. Transportation becomes a bottleneck. Because of this, the only factory mentioned during the information [session] was Wonson, where Poland is helping to organize the production of new train cars. Another plenum will be convened before the summer, devoted to reorganizing trade, which has become another bottleneck in the development of the totality of the economy. Shortly, a session of the parliament [Supreme People's Assembly] will take place, to make a resolution about the harvest.

Kim Il Sung, among other things, stated the 8 basic economic indicators foreseen for 1961 and stated that all, with the exception of steel, are higher than the corresponding indicators for Japan of 1955.” [trans. note: no visible opening quotation marks]

Re. 2. Factionalism, particularism, sectarianism, cliquishness led to the closing down of the party long before liberation. In the North, after liberation a battle was fought with this. The defeat of these manifestations of bourgeois ideology is the “main task of our time.” There was no such battle in the South. This is why the party was shattered there during the war, and the further outcomes of this harmful behavior should have been closed down then in the North. Until recently, there existed the belief that there are no revisionists in the DPRK. The August group was a manifestation of revisionism. It is symptomatic that its activity occurred in the period of the reaction's attacks against the international workers' movement and against the USSR. From the ideological angle, the factionalists:

- a. denied the leading role of the party in favor of the Front of National Unity and Trade Un[ions], for example, they assumed that the FNU, and not the party, is the decisive authority for the army. They spoke up against the “excessive interference” of the party in state matters, technology and science.
- b. They spoke up against the implementation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They pulled former landowners and kulaks into the state apparatus. In the courts, political crimes were allowed to go unpunished by excusing the guilty with their lack of political upbringing. For example, soldiers' who escaped to the South. The conference devoted a lot of attention to the principles of democratic centralism, intra-party discipline and democracy.

Re. 3. The August group was initially viewed as a political faction. Later, it was agreed that there had also been preparations for the use of armed force. At the conference, the principle of overseeing and criticizing sternly and punishing magnanimously was

adopted. But treating people in positions of responsibility differently, that is, sternly. In their case, there can be no lack of awareness. The most guilty are to be directed to the court. 9 persons, including Kim Dubong and Bak Uiwan, were removed from the CC and the party. In their places, 9 new ones were chosen, including 3 army men: the chief of the political council, the chief of air forces and the leader of the 2nd army. 8 new candidates were chosen, among them the current ambassador to the USSR was chosen. The auditing committee was also fortified. Among others, the vice-minister Yi Donggon went into it. Kim Il Sung, chairman of the Central Commission of Party Control, and Choe Ancheon, head of the science department, were brought into the presidium. The issue of fortifying party work in the army was discussed as a separate point. It was decided to introduce party committees in the military.

Receiving:

Comr. Cyrankiewicz
Comr. Gomułka
Comr. Jędrychowski
Comr. Loga-Sowiński
Comr. Morawski
Comr. Ochab
Comr. Rapacki
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Comr. Czesak
Comr. Naszkowski
Comr. Winiewicz
Comr. Wierna
Comr. Śluczański

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 18

[Obtained for NKIDP by Jakub Poprocki and translated for NKIDP by Maya Latynski.]

Pyongyang, 18 June 1958

NOTE

conc[erning] the most important data of the 5-year plan of the DPRK

The 5-year plan was the subject of a session at the party conference that took place in Pyongyang in March of this year. At the 3rd Session of the Supreme People's Assembly on 9.VI-11.VI.1958, a resolution about the 5-year plan (1957-1961) for the development of the national economy of the DPRK was adopted. Compared to the extended draft 5-year plan at the party conference, the adopted resolution contains no substantive changes.

Generally, the 5-year plan sets the goal of the further strengthening of the economic foundations of socialism in the DPRK: the resolution of the problem of securing food, clothing and housing for the population. During the 5-year plan, the complete elimination of the colonial backwardness in the sphere of industry and technology, a completion of collectivization and the achievement of a full socialist transformation in industry and trade.

In the sphere of the development of industry, the need for the primacy of heavy industry with the simultaneous development of agriculture and light industry was specified, taking into account the international division of labor among the socialist countries.

It is foreseen that in the course of the 5-year plan, the global industrial production compared to 1956 will grow 2.6 times. In this, the production of the means of production 2.9 times, the production of consumer goods 2.2 times.

38

In the sphere of heavy industry, it was decided to develop the metallurgical, machine, chemical and construction material industries, while at the same time broadening the energy base and developing the extraction industry.

In the most important branches of industry, in accordance with the assumptions of the 5-year plan, in 1961 production should reach the following level:

1. coal	thou[sand] tons	10,000
2. pig iron	thou[sand] tons	700,000
3. steel	thou[sand] tons	670
4. metal sheeting	thou[sand] tons	500
5. fertilizer	thou[sand] tons	630
6. electric energy	m[illion] kW	9,700
7. electrolytic copper	thou[sand] tons	8
8. electrolytic zinc	thou[sand] tons	62
9. black lead	thou[sand] tons	43
10. freight cars	pieces	850
11. caustic soda	thou[sand] tons	32
12. cement	thou[sand] tons	2,000
13. synthetic fibers	thou[sand] tons	22,000
14. fishing	thou[sand] tons	650
15. plant oils	thou[sand] tons	35
16. salt	thou[sand] tons	450

In the sphere of agriculture the goal of reaching 3,760 thousand tons of grains

was removed.

During the 5-year plan, it is foreseen that irrigation equipment will be built with state resources to irrigate 75 thousand ha. of fields, with cooperative resources equipment irrigating 118 thousand ha. The problem was brought up of increasing the yield from 1 ha. of fields, e.g., out of 1 ha.: rice – 4 t.

corn – 2.5 t.

wheat* – 1.5 t.

In 1961, the harvest of some crops may reach the following levels:

cotton --	65,000 t.
linen --	33,000 t.
hemp --	4,000 t.
wool --	8,000 t.
tobacco --	20,000 t.
meat --	20,000 t.

In the area of rail transport, it is being assumed that in 1961 the transport of freight will grow 1.7 times in relation to 1956, motor transport 1.9 times, water transport 3.6 times. The construction of 350 km. of railroads, as well as the electrification of some segments of railroads, is expected.

The overall sum of investment in major construction will amount to 146.5 m[illio]n won during the 5-year plan. Furthermore, it is expected that production cooperatives will expend financial resources on construction in the countryside. Investment is foreseen, first of all, in industrial construction, especially facilities for heavy industry. A broadening of housing construction in the cities and the countryside is also to take place. Several buildings, which are currently still under construction, will be put into use. Beginning the initial work on buildings planned for the second 5-year plan was brought up as a goal.

During the 5-year plan the construction of 10 m[illio]n sq. meters of housing area and 200 thou[sand] small houses in the countryside is expected. The share of the block system in the cities will grow to 75%. In industrial construction it will comprise 38%.

100 thou[sand] specialists will be educated. This includes 60 thou[sand] engineering-technical personnel. The number of workers and employees is to grow by 300 thou[sand] persons in 1961.

In the sphere of trade, an improvement in furnishing the population with consumer goods is expected. The turnover of goods in the state and cooperative trade network is to grow 2.2 times. The complete elimination of private trade is expected.

In 1961 work productivity in industry is expected to grow by 65%, and in construction by 52%. The cost of production in industry will be lowered by 29%.

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Iwankow Bolesław

[signature]

Attache of the Embassy of the

* Note: In the DPRK, wheat is cultivated according to the in-line system. Other plants are cultivated between its rows.

L[udowa—
Poland] in the DPRK

P[olska] R[zeczpospolita]
People's Republic of



DOCUMENT No. 19

[Obtained for NKIDP by Jakub Poprocki and translated for NKIDP by Maya Latynski.]

Pyongyang, 24 July 1958

NOTE

The leadership of the Korean Workers' Party and the government of democratic Korea are unceasingly mobilizing the Korean nation to liquidate backwardness, a remainder of the many centuries of Japanese occupation and enormous wartime destruction. In implementing the state plans for the further development of the socialist national economy, the party and the government are devoting much attention to, among other things, the question of the development of agriculture, raising the agricultural culture to a higher standard, increasing plant and animal production.

In Korea, while introducing the appropriate methods for the cultivation of soil, there exist serious possibilities of increasing plant production, and even of overtaking many countries that are currently more developed in the sphere of agriculture, in this area.

One can observe various directions of work aimed at raising the effectiveness of Korean agriculture. Thus, for example, 1. a selection is being conducted for the expansion of the area for the cultivation of particular crops, ones that are new to the traditional Korean agricultural structure, among it the serious expansion of area for cultivating corn, 2. the existing methods of growing particular cultures (the "cold seedling" of rice, planting cotton in clay pots) are being improved.

3. Yet the principal direction that is of decisive significance for increasing the effectiveness of agriculture is the increasing of the area of irrigated fields for cultivating rice.

For this reason, it is in this very direction that the sums devoted to the development of agriculture are being invested within the framework of state investment, and also work is being conducted with the resources of individuals or united production cooperatives.

Currently, in view of the fact that the further development of agriculture represents one of the serious elements of the overall development of the socialist national economy in Korea, the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party and the government have reached the decision to begin the construction of the new Kaechon-Thaesong system of irrigation, which will make it possible to irrigate about 34,000 hectares of rice fields.

According to the Korean engineers' plan, the construction of the main water canal and four distribution canals, with a joint length of 627 kilometers, was begun in May of this year.

Supplying the canal with water will be executed with the aid of electric pumps, which will pump water from the Thaesong river to the canal, 2 cubic meters of water in one second. The electric pump stations are currently in the phase of construction in the town of Kiyang.

The capacity of the tank is being calculated at 1,400 million cubic meters of water. The tank will altogether take up 360 hectares of surface on the ground. The canal's protective embankment, i.e., the final part closing off the canal, which will at the same time form a large artificial lake, will be located in the Thaesong locality. The new irrigation system, Kaechon-Thaesong, is to guarantee the regular irrigation of 34,000 hectares of rice fields.

204 bridges with a combined length of 10 kilometers will be built over the canal.

The construction of the canal together with the bridges will require 9,900,000 man-days and the transportation of over 100,000,000 cubic meters of soil.

To build the canal, 1,080,000 cubic meters of concrete, 60,000 cubic meters of cement, 50,000 cubic meters of timber and 20,000 tons of iron materials will be needed.

Korea has received the machinery to be used for the work on the construction of the canal, such as excavators, loaders, bulldozers, tractors and trucks, from socialist countries as part of their economic assistance.

The canal construction employs 30 engineers and over 3,000 workers.

According to the state plan, the completion of the construction of the canal is foreseen for 1960. However, the workers have resolved to finish the construction of the canal in June 1959.

The assumptions of the party and government expect the further construction of irrigating canals in Korea.

Of the larger works, as the Embassy informed at the time, 1956-57 saw the construction (in a shortened time period) of the Anju system (South Pyongyang Province) allowing the irrigation of about 25,000 hectares of rice fields.

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the

People's Republic of
Poland—PRP] in the DPRK

Józef Knapik
[transl. note: signature]
Counselor of the Embassy of

P[olska] R[zeczpospolita]
L[udowa—

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 20

Memorandum of conversation between Chinese Prime Minister Zhou Enlai and North Korean Prime Minister Kim Il-Sung

[Source: P.R.C. Foreign Ministry Archives, Document 204-00064-02 (1)]
[Obtained for NKIDP by Gregg Brazinsky and translated for NKIDP by Mengyin Kung.]

Time: 1:00 PM, 27 November 1958

Location: Xihua Hall

[Delegates from] China: Deputy Premier Peng Dehuai, Deputy Premier Premier He Long, Deputy Premier Chen Yi, Deputy Minister Zhang Wentian, Ambassador Qiao Xiaoguang.

[Delegates from] Korea: Prime Minister Kim Il-Sung, Deputy Chairman Pak Jeongae, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Nam Il, Minister of National Defense Kim Kwang-Lae, Minister of Education and Culture Lee Young-Ho, Ambassador Lee Il-Gyŏng

Interpreter: Jiang Longqiu

Note taker: Wang Shikun

[North Korean] Prime Minister Kim Il-Sung and the Korean delegation paid [PRC] Premier Zhou Enlai a visit the day they arrived in Beijing. Zhou invited the delegation to a luncheon in Xihua Hall [of the Zhongnanhai]. During the lunch, Premier [Zhou] asked about the development of the industrial and agricultural sectors in Korea. Prime Minister Kim Il-Sung gave a brief introduction on the situation of Korea's food, steel, and electrical sectors this year.

Deputy Premier Peng Dehuai asked about the production in South Korea and whether there were exports. Prime Minister Kim said that parts of rice in South Korea were exported to Japan. He said that [the fundamental environment] in South Korea was not good and had not recovered after the destruction [of war]. Most of the goods and materials were imported from the United States. People could not even afford to buy some basic commodities in the market.

Deputy Premier Peng asked if there was any production of ammunition in South Korea. General Kim Kwang-Lae said that recently South Korea was preparing to build some arsenals in Busan which would produce bullets, grenades, etc. [He was not sure] if [the arsenals] were built or not. He said there were 700,000 soldiers in [South Korean President] Rhee Syngman's standing army, so South Korea spent a big portion of its budget on military.

Premier Zhou mentioned the recently-signed Japanese-American Security Treaty by the Nobusuke Kishi government. He said [the treaty] was to misguide Japanese people. It was meant to follow West Germany, to restore Japan's militarism, re-militarize Japan. But Japanese people suffered from the war; they were the first ones ever suffered from

the damage of atomic bombs. Therefore, Japan's socialist party and Japanese people disagreed with Kishi's plan, which was a good thing. Premier [Zhao] asked Prime Minister Kim his opinion on this issue. Kim said that the United States and the Kishi administrations' plan could never come to fruition. Although they linked everything up now, it would eventually fall apart. It is fundamentally flawed; their way would only cause everything to go in the opposite direction. It would educate Japanese people. Recently, Deputy Premier Chen Yi made a statement regarding Kishi's plan; Japanese people welcomed and supported [the statement]. Foreign Minister Nam Il said, "We issued an editorial the day after reading Chen Yi's statement. We welcomed Chen's statement."

Deputy Premier Peng asked whether fishermen in the south crossed the "38th parallel" recently. Kim said that in the spring, there were nine ships, around 40 people. "We invited them to visit the north, and helped them catch many fish, filled their ships, and let them go. They had a favorable impression." Kim said, "Not only that, some journalists from the south liked to listen about construction in the north. Recently we organized a meeting in Panmunjom for journalists from the north and the south. Our journalists gave them some documents. They were very happy and brought those back. Panmunjom thus became a place [for both sides] to meet." Premier, Deputy Premier Peng, Deputy Premier Chen Yi all praised this arrangement and thought this was good.

[All the delegates] also talked about some other daily life issues. The conversation continued after the luncheon.

Premier [Zhou]: Hocus pocus—this is what our country is trying to destroy—superficial beliefs. We are mobilizing people to do this. We are doing a general survey of radioactive substances in the country. We distributed 2,000 plus detectors around the country, to 20,000 plus communes to let people do it. We will keep secret the location of those places where there is a lot [of the radioactive substances], and publicize those places where there is little. [Developing] industry is not something mysterious; everyone can do it. I have some words to say: let all people develop industry; yet it is not easy. On the one hand, let everyone develop industry, but [at the same time] there need to be larger scale collective efforts. This is how we combine popularity and collectivity together.

Prime Minister Kim: This year, we've seen the results of China's Great Leap Forward that destroyed superficial beliefs, as well as your success in developing handicraft industry and small-scale industry. We now have around 1,000 small-scale enterprises. Because of labor shortages, we cannot do it on a larger scale, but can only do it at county level. [We] mobilized the family members of staff to do more light industry, food industry, and daily life product industry, such as pottery and porcelain as well as cement. It is the same in the countryside. It is beneficial that farmers take advantage of their fallow time to develop steel industry. Farmers are highly motivated.

Premier: That is [true] because this helps increase production.

Kim: By doing this, it is also convenient to do irrigation work in the countryside.

We've already constructed some small-scale hydroelectric plants. It is estimated that by next year, the electrification will be completed. Presently in Korea 36% of the countryside is still without electricity.

Premier: Your electrification development is way ahead of us.

Kim: Small-scale power plants are easy, as long as there are brooks.

Premier: That is good, walking with your own two legs [being practical]. Or else once large power plants fail, the whole countryside will be affected.

Kim: Small-scale plants are all independent.

Premier: How much of an increase will there be next year?

Kim: The Tokro River [one of the tributaries of the Yalu River/Amnok River] Hydroelectric Power Plant [which is in Kanggye, the provincial capital of Chagang, N. Korea] will be completed by next year. [There will be an] 80,000 kilowatt [increase]. [We are] recovering thermal power plants in several places; [we can increase the power generation] to 10 billion kWh by next year. [We need to] increase 8.9 billion kWh this year. Our goal is 20 billion kWh.

Premier: 20 billion kWh distributed according to the population, every ten people can have 100,000 kWh of electricity.

Deputy Premier Peng: Based on our situation, that is quite a high figure. Based on the situation in Western Europe, more is needed.

Premier: We haven't reached 30 billion kWh this year. [We can] have 80 billion kWh next year.

Kim: We have shortcomings in terms of developing animal husbandry and cooking oil. Now we have to develop animal husbandry and vegetable cooking oil. People's living standards continue to increase. They need not only food but also good food.

Premier: Did you have droughts this year?

Kim: Many. Very little water is left in the reservoirs. Hydroelectric plants did not have enough water [to operate]. We had very little rain this year. Elders say that this is the first time in a hundred years. According the forecast, we will have more rain next year. We are promoting energy conservation. [People are] used to wasting [electricity].

Premier: We saw that there were many lights without switches in Korea.

Kim: There were some lights that burnt coal. Now they are all gone.

Premier: Your steel production should follow [the electricity production] too.

Kim: It is estimated that iron production will reach 1 million tons next year (we have 450,000 metric tons [one metric ton equals to 1,000 kilograms] this year), and steel production 650,000 to 700,000 metric tons (now it's 400,000 metric tons).

Premier: [Steel production] can reach 1 million tons the year after next year?

Kim: [Yes].

Premier: 1 million metric tons of steel means one ton of steel for every ten people. We need to have 60 million metric tons of steel to attain that ratio. You are ahead of us, which is very good. Isn't it great to reach the goals of socialism? (Premier turned to Comrade Pak Jeongae) Comrade Pak Jeongae, you surpassed us very quickly. We are very pleased and should congratulate you.

Pak (smiled and nodded)

Kim: With your help.

Premier and Deputy Premier Peng: Mainly on your own, through your own efforts.

Peng: You've got many advantages--transportation, power, raw materials, minerals, and so on.

Premier: How about cotton this year?

Kim: Still very little; [we] mainly depend on you and the Soviets. The government purchased 50,000 metric tons of unginning cotton.

Premier: 50,000 metric tons of unginning cotton and 17,000 metric tons of ginned cotton will be 34 million catties [a catty is approximate 600 grams]—that is more than 300,000 piculs [one picul equals to 100 catties].

Kim: We have good harvest of cotton this year due to good weather. Plus we used nutrition pots that shortened one month of the growing period of cotton. We plan to plant more cotton next year. The production of flax this year is good as well—one field yielded one metric ton.

Premier: Your nutrition pots were successful. [It is] good for your weather since you have shorter frost-free period. Korean people are used to physical labor. We also mobilize women now. You have enough material for producing paper. Do you have enough material for sugar?

Kim: We had some wrong beliefs in terms of producing sugar. Last year our [people] who were in charge of light industry visited China and decided that we could

have more beets next year, to produce sugar with indigenous methods. It could be successful. We can have 20,000 metric tons [of sugar] plus 10,000 metric tons imported. Koreans don't like drinking tea and coffee that much. We are used to drinking water.

Premier: You can grow some tea in your mountains.

Kim: We have no plan for now. According to ancient records, there was tea in the southern part of Korea, from the seeds brought from China. Which one is better for sugar production: Sugarcanes or sugar-beets?

Premier: Certainly sugarcanes are better. Sugar-beets get go bad easily. However you have a short frost-free period, so it's probably not easy to extract sugar from sugarcanes. It's faster to get sugar from sugar-beets.

Kim: We had some sugar-beets in the Japanese-occupation period. Some problems occurred, so we gave up. We grew some sugar-beets this year. It doesn't look bad.

Premier: How's the recovery of your handicraft industry?

Kim: We've recovered 900 small workshops, and some 700 to 800 cooperative groups.

Premier: How many agricultural cooperatives?

Kim: 3,873 after merging "li" and "groups."

Premier: You eliminated one [administrative] organ, right?

Kim: We used to have "classes" above "li." We eliminated "[administrative] organs," so now there are only four levels.

Premier: It's better to have it simplified. How many counties do you have?

Kim: 200 counties.

Premier: How many provinces?

Kim: Nine provinces.

Premier: How many staff member do you have in administrative agencies?

Kim: 16,000 people, not including teaching and administrative staff.

Premier: How many are there in the teaching and administrative staff?

Kim: Around 70,000 to 80,000. After downsizing, we have the smallest ratio of

government workers and total population among all nations.

Premier: After downsizing, we have 1.3 to 1.4 million government workers in central and local government agencies. You have fewer people in the central government; we have more people and more cities. We have five levels from the central government to “towns,” [*xiang*, township/country/village] as opposed to your four levels from the central government to “li.”

Kim: We merged “*li*” and “groups,” which cut down 7,000 people in the staff.

Premier: That is a good idea.

Kim: We also merged supply and marketing cooperatives into *li*, which cut down some 10,000 people.

Premier: Are these people taken care of by the cooperatives?

Kim: We are still trying it out. The central government still provides [for these peoples’ livings].

Premier: The cadres we demoted are still paid with salaries. The cooperatives would be overwhelmed to shoulder such a burden suddenly.

Kim: Our cooperatives provide [for workers’ living.] We haven’t yet handed schools over to cooperatives.

Premier: How many troops do you have now?

Kim: 300,000 troops. Troops are more [than government workers].

(One paragraph screened.)

Premier: You have a huge burden. [Having] 300,000 troops is because you are facing different circumstances. How many workers do you have?

Kim: Workers and staff are 1.1 million.

Premier: That’s a good ratio.

Deputy Premier Peng: The industrial and agricultural output values in Korea are higher than ours.

Premier: What are the industrial and agricultural output values that you announced?

Kim: The ratio of industry to agriculture is 70%. I don’t remember the exact number.

Premier: You sped up your industrialization, electrification, and mechanization.

Kim: We have 30,000 truck tractors. 15,000 cars will be fine.

Premier: We are experimenting in farming with electrical tractors in Guangdong. You can pay a visit there. When [King] Sihanouk [of Cambodia] came to China, he visited the one in Tianjin. It wasn't that good at that time. [Electrical tractors] save oil and steel, and are not heavy. How many years did you shorten your scheduled date of fulfilling your five-year plan?

Kim: We will fulfill it next year (two years earlier), but we announced that it would be finished a year and a half earlier than scheduled.

Premier: We can finish our five-year plan this year. You have many advantages, which is totally different from the situation in the two Germanys. [As long as] your peoples' living standard continues to improve, people in the south will move [to the north].

(One paragraph screened.)

Kim: Our slogan is "fight for another two years." China has fought for three years.

Premier: To better your infrastructure to influence [the situation with the south]. Who will take over after Rhee Syngman?

Kim: Yi Gibung. He is a parliamentarian, but very old.

Premier: There are only old people left in the south. Their ambassador to Taiwan, Kim Hong-Il, is he a cadre of Rhee's?

Kim: He emerged from the Manchukuo government.

Nam Il: He does not come from Rhee's direct faction.

Premier: Is there any possibility that he will take over from Rhee?

Kim: [Rhee] does not have a high prestige in Korea. Yi Gibung probably has more prestige [than Rhee].

Premier: There will be chaos wherever Americans set fire. Like in Iraq.

Deputy Premier Chen: It was difficult to know beforehand that there would be coup in Sudan.

Premier: Armed coups crop up everywhere in Asia and Africa. There are armed

riots in Indonesia; there were coups in North Africa, Algeria, Sudan and Egypt; the same in Iraq, Jordan, Ceylon, Pakistan and Burma. Although U Nu said he stepped down himself, he was actually [overthrown] in a coup. The same in Thailand. There have been two [coups] in South Vietnam, but they were suppressed. Coups are everywhere. The backyard of the United States, the Latin America, is facing the same situation. The U.S. supports military coups everywhere, sets fire everywhere, and therefore it's inevitable that nationalist states fight. There could be changes in southern Korea, because they depend on military, not people, and there will always be people who oppose them. We can categorize the examples we have. First is Iraq, a good example. [Iraqis] had a thorough revolution, leaving Americans with no proxy to support and had to recognize Iraq. The second example is Indonesia. The U.S. supported the rebels in the beginning, but in the end had to recognize Sukarno as he insisted on fighting the rebels. The third example is in Lebanon, the U.S. withdrew eventually, leaving a bad reputation. The fourth example is in Latin America, the U.S. attempted to conduct a conspiracy in Argentina, but failed eventually. All these are armed coups, either revolutions or counterrevolutions.

Now that the U.S. has shown its failure in several places, which was concluded in the recent election in the U.S., Dulles' brinkmanship policy was defeated. To the socialist camp, [the U.S.] is on the defensive. Of course, if there is any conflict among us, they will definitely exploit it. As long as we are united, they can never defeat us. Hungary is a good example, and so is Taiwan. We insist on fighting, they will reconsider [their strategy]. The situation in Quemoy and Matsu also accounts for the U.S.'s defensive strategy.

We leaders in the socialist camp have to build our countries. The stronger we are, the more chaotic it will be in the capitalist world. They don't recognize us now? That's good. (Smiles at Deputy Premier Chen) Then we have less to do, less trouble.

Deputy Premier Chen: Then I am going to "lose my job."

(One paragraph screened.)

[Unknown]: Now while they think the situation in Taiwan is somewhat pacified, they are having conflict in the west again. France wants to have a trade union with Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and West Germany against Britain. The British are furious. It's good to have [Charles] DeGulle as president, so that there is no harmony among them.

Deputy Premier Peng: The U.S. exposes their weaknesses the most in Korea.
Premier: Now [U.S. power] is declining. In another ten years, [our power] could be considerable.

Deputy Premier Peng: [We] improve a bit each year; then it will be considerable.

Premier: You are doing better than us. You eliminated illiteracy; you learned new technology fast. The Soviet Union is making efforts to build their nation. [The Soviet Union] is the big brother, with a strong foundation. We don't [have a strong foundation

yet]. We learn fast, but that's not enough. You are better, at least you eliminated illiteracy.

Kim: According to the situation in northern Korea, I think we only need another 3.5 million tons of steel.

Premier: In another ten years, everything in the socialist camp can surpass imperialist states. Or at least [our] major things have to surpass theirs.

Kim: We think so, too. It will have a great impact on southern Korea that we successfully finish our ten-year construction plan. Then, it is possible to reunite Korea peacefully. As long as you can pin down Americans (the interpreter did not hear this line and did not translate it.)

Premier: The situation will be different in southern Korea by then. Taiwan, for instance, if Chiang Kai-shek or his agent pronounced to reunite with the mother land, the U.S. could do nothing. I'm saying that the fortress can be penetrated from the inside. External factors can influence internal ones, and then internal factors will work themselves out.

Deputy Premier Peng: How many Koreans are there in Japan?

Kim: 600,000 people. According to Japanese statistics, 400,000 requested to come back to northern Korea. After the armistice, they requested to come back, but our condition was too dire to welcome them back. Now we can receive them again. Nam Il has made several statements in relation to this. The Japanese government did not give an official response. It is the association of Koreans in Japan that is leading the people's movement in Korea. [The association] leads the overseas Koreans to urge the Japanese government to give work authorization and leads petition movements. Japanese people also set up organizations to help Koreans to come back to Korea (including Hatoyama in the Japan Socialist Party). From the perspective of Japanese people, they wish Koreans could go home because they are also having a hard time making ends meet. The problem here is the fact that these people request to go back to northern Korea which affects "Japan-Korea talks." The Japanese government is in an awkward position. The Foreign Minister's statement was sent to the Japanese government through the Japanese Embassy in the Soviet Union. However, the Japanese government sent the statement back to us three days after they received it.

Nam Il: The Japanese said it was a hot potato.

Premier: Did the Japanese merchant ships come?

Kim: Boats came stealthily.

Premier: As long as they have the will to come back, there will be a way. Just take their time.

Kim: We are not planning on bringing them back soon, either. We prepare for a long fight. First we ask the Japanese government to arrange those people's lives, give them jobs. As long as [the Koreans in Japan] can fight, their dream will come true.

Premier: The longer they stay suppressed in Japan, the stronger their will to fight Japanese and Americans. Thus, [Japanese] actually are training these people for us.

Kim: It is also a good way to influence public opinion in southern Korea. We are taking care of those Koreans in Japan while the government in the south is doing nothing. People in the south said, "Only the Republic cares about us and solves our problems." Each year we budget 130 to 140 million Japanese yen for education for the Koreans in Japan. It's been three years.

Premier: How do you send the money?

Kim: Through banks.

Premier: Japanese don't oppose it?

Kim: They did not oppose it. This actually helps relieve some of their difficulties.

Premier: Do you, the Korea Workers' Party, have any opinion on our way of dealing with the Taiwan issue? Can you understand [our methods]?

Kim: We fully support China's methods.

Park: Fully support.

Premier: Our Minister of Defense has issued a proclamation four times.

Kim: Chiang Kai-shek did not respond?

Premier: They don't dare to respond now. The U.S.-Chiang contradiction is still developing, though.

Deputy Premier Peng: They said the proclamations were to instigate the U.S.-Chiang relations.

Deputy Premier Chen: We were instigating their relations.

Kim: If we don't let Americans go, they are to be blamed.

Premier: You understand the proclamation, but some of the western comrades don't. It's hard to translate. But Chiang Kai-shek understands, and Americans are beginning to understand. Dulles understands, too. His recent speech at the U.S. national

church committee seems like responding to Chairman Mao's "paper tiger" statement. He said that the free world has strengthened; the socialist camp will undergo some changes. He is putting his hope in us, in that there will be contradiction in the socialist camp. That means, so far, he has no other way to deal with us; it also means that he does not dare to fight. Once we strengthen our unity, his dream will be shattered. He also says that freedom is not reliable, is empty. He says that freedom can not help stabilize Asian and African countries. It needs economic aid, needs money. Therefore, he wants those Christians to do some ideological work for him. He wants them to persuade capitalists not to be extravagant but to invest in Asian and African countries.

Deputy Premier Peng: The production in Britain has reduced 20%, 25% in the U.S. It has also reduced in France and in Japan.

Premier: Their world has shrunken and they still can't cooperate [with each other]. [There is also an] economic crisis and multiple contradictions.

Kim: Premier Zhou is right. We need to earn time to build ourselves.

(Several paragraphs screened)

[Premier:] Your construction has gone quite well. We are pleased. You showed such a warm welcome when the volunteer troops returned home. I wondered whether that probably disturbed your schedule [of construction].

Kim: It was our obligation to send off the volunteer troops when they left Korea. They bled for Korea and rendered so many achievements. It was also an education to Korean people, as well as an influence to politics outside [Korea], contradicted the rumor that Korean people did not welcome the volunteer troops. Yet we did not do it formal enough.

Premier: That was formal enough. Guo [Moruo] came back from Korea and composed more poems than we can cover [in this conversation].

Kim: When the volunteer troops left Korea, almost every Korean cried. It's people's affection. I am grateful for your appreciation of our construction. It's an encouragement to us.

Premier: Your [situation] is not easy, either.

Kim: Finally, I would like to mention that when Deputy Prime Minister Li Jooyon and Comrade Li Chong-ok visited China last time, we already solved the issues of longterm trade and loan. We are very pleased and would like to express our appreciation.

Premier: We had limited power and did only very little.

Kim: We are very content. The Standing Committee listened to the report from

Comrade Lee Jooyon and was very content with it.

Premier: We will be able to help more once our construction improves. Everyone minds his own construction of socialism and we will all be pleased. After you come back from Vietnam, should we issue a communiqué?

Kim, Pak Jeongae and Nam Il said that they were willing to issue a communiqué at the same time.

Premier: That is good. We can assign this to the two foreign ministers. They can assign it to others and we don't have to worry about it.

Kim: Our military delegation does not have many things on the agenda this time. We used to contact the volunteer troops when they were [in Korea]. Now that the volunteer troops have returned, we need to talk about how to maintain contact in the future. Another thing is about mutual learning and military education. I hope that Minister Peng Dehuai will be able to help.

Premier: That's good. He (Peng Dehuai) was in the liberation army as well as the volunteer troops.

Deputy Premier Peng: The military delegation can see whatever they wish to see. We have no secrets to keep from a fraternal country.

Kim: The Vietnamese delegation brought a military group last time it visited Korea. The Korean military delegation will come with us to Vietnam this time. They may not come back with the government delegates when we come back from Vietnam. They could stay longer in China, visit more places.

Premier: That's good. The Foreign Affairs Office of the Ministry of Defense will communicate with them about the details of the itinerary of the military delegation.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 21

[Obtained for NKIDP by Jakub Poprocki and translated for NKIDP by Maya Latynski.]

Secret

Pyongyang, 4 September 1959

EMBASSY
OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF POLAND
IN PYONGYANG
No. 2421/1959/tjn

N o t e
concerning the internal affairs of the DPRK

In the second half of August of this year, after a longer absence of Kim Il Sung and other members of the leadership in Pyongyang, some sessions of the broadened Presidium of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea took place. Discussed at these sessions were issues of making the management of the economy more efficient, the decentralization of this management, the reduction of jobs in the administration and the moving of a number of experienced employees and experts to the appropriate levels of management of the economy and directly to production.

As a result of the consultations, the broadened Plenum of the CC KWP passed a resolution, in which it pays particular attention to the issue of further development and raising the level of local industry in the field. This industry currently creates 27.5% of the production of the whole industry of the DPRK, and in the area of production of necessities 45.1%. Local industry currently includes about 2,000 factories (including cooperative plants), of which about 1,000 factories have been created in the most recent period (since September of last year). These factories have generally been created without investment from the state. The resolution gives the task of supplying the population with necessities to the local industry, so as to assure a rise in the population's standard of living.

The resolution states, citing a statement by Kim Il Sung, that the current system of the industry's management is already outdated and this system needs to be changed.

The resolution forecasts the need to dissolve, merge and reorganize several departments and broaden the privileges of the Provincial and Municipal People's Committees (the equivalent of our Provincial and Municipal National Councils) in the sphere of management of industry.

The problem of cadres is tied to the problem of decentralization of management. The resolution forecasts the solving of this problem by shifting the responsible and experienced employees away from the central level. These employees, following the dissolution of and merging of departments, will be able to move to work in the field, strengthening the local People's Committees and directly fortifying factories.

The resolution states that the goals of the first 5-year plan (1957-1961) were met in the course of 2.5 years, i.e., by the end of June 1959, thanks to the powerful "Chollima" movement and the effort of the whole nation, and that the second half of 1959 and the year 1960 will be a period of strengthening the gains of the first 5-year plan, and at the same time will be a period of rest and preparations to achieve the great tasks of the second 5-year plan. In this period, the factories' technical equipment will need to be sorted out and the exploitation of the existing productive powers of factories will need to be increased.

One must pay keen attention to the development of the energy base, development of metallurgy, increase of the melting of steel, coal extraction and the perfection of transportation.

At the same time, the Resolution states that in 1960 the raising of the population's standard of living must be looked after. With this goal in mind, animal

husbandry must be developed, fishing must be increased, the production of necessities and food articles must be broadened, more apartments, shops, cafeterias and restaurants, crèches, preschools, baths, laundries and so on must be built.

At the sessions of the broadened Presidium of the CC KWP the initial economic plan for 1960 was also examined.

Already before publishing the Resolution of the broadened Presidium of the CC KWP, the Cabinet of Ministers [sic.] of the DPRK, in its session of 17 August of this year, adopted a resolution on the issue of the further construction of Pyongyang.

The Cabinet of Ministers [sic.] states that in the period since the ending of the war action, 3 mil[lion] m. sq. of housing surfaces, 105 schools, 65 hospitals and health centers, 27 cinemas and theaters, 488 shops and restaurants have been built, 988 thou[sand] sq. m. of road and street surfaces have been lain, 200 km. of water pipes and 1,600 thousand trees have been planted.

Yet the results to date have been deemed as insufficient. One may think that this concerns in particular the quality of the completed work, and also the exploitation of equipment and construction materials in construction, since one of the items of the resolution calls upon the Chairman of the State Construction Committee to present proposals to the Cabinet of Ministers [sic.] regarding the strengthening of the oversight of construction and the exploitation of equipment and construction materials in construction in Pyongyang by the end of September.

Apart from this, the Cabinet of Ministers [sic.] recommended dissolving the Ministry of Construction of Cities and the Local Economy. This Ministry's functions are to be transferred to the Municipal Committee of Pyongyang (the Municipal People's Committee of Pyongyang possesses the rights of a Provincial Committee), the People's Provincial Committees and the Main Administration of Construction, which is to be created. Departments of Construction are to be created in the People's Provincial Committees.

The enterprises under the Ministry of Construction of Cities and the Local Economy are to be transferred to the People's Committee of Pyongyang and the People's Provincial Committees. The People's Committee of Pyongyang was given special rights to found factories of construction materials indispensable to the construction of the city, also outside the city of Pyongyang.

With the aim of strengthening the role of the Pyongyang People's Committee, the Cabinet of Ministers [sic.] decided to name vice-premier Cheong Ilyeong to the post of Chairman of this Committee (for now it is not known whether he will remain a v[ice]-premier). The functions of the v[ice]-chairman of the Committee are to be taken over by the current Minister of Construction of Cities and the Local Economy, Kim Byeongsik.

In its conclusion, the Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers [sic.] of the DPRK resolves to dissolve the Committee for the Reconstruction of Pyongyang, which was founded in 1953.

Following the above-mentioned resolutions by the broadened Presidium of the CC KWP and the Cabinet of Ministers, the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK issued several decrees on 31 August 1959, on the basis of which it is decided to:

1. Join together the Ministries of Electrical Energy, Coal Industry and Chemical Industry,

and to create a Ministry of Energy and Chemical Industry. Kim Doosam, the current Minister of Electrical Energy, was named the minister. The Minister of Coal Industry, Kim Taejin, was relieved of his position, and the Minister of Chemical Industry, Li Cheonheo, was disciplinarily relieved of his functions.

2. The Ministry of Procurement was folded into the Ministry of Internal Trade. The Minister of Procurement, Cheong Seonwon, was relieved from his position.

3. The Ministry of the Fishing Industry was merged into the Ministry of Light Industry. The Minister of the Fishing Industry, Joo Cholmok, was disciplinarily relieved of his functions.

4. The Ministry of Justice was dissolved, and its functions related to directing the courts and issues of arbitration were transferred to the Supreme Court of the DPRK. The Minister of Justice, Heo Jeongsook, was relieved of her functions of Minister, but remained the Chairwoman of the Committee of Cultural Relations with Abroad.

5. The Ministry of Administration and Ministry of Labor were dissolved. The Central Committee of the United Trade Unions of Korea took over the functions of the Ministry of Labor. The Minister of Administration, Pak Munjoo, and the Minister of Labor, Kim Ingi, were released from their positions. On 1 September of this year, Kim Ingi was chosen to be the Chairman of the Committee of the Central Red Cross of Korea, replacing Pak Giho, leaving because of illness.

6. The Ministry of Construction of the Cities and the Local Economy was dissolved. (For details, see p. 3).

[signature]
E. Sagała
2nd Secretary of the Embassy

4 cop[ies] made
3 cop[ie]s MFA Dep. V
1 cop[y] a/a

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 22

[Translated for NKIDP by Adolf Kotlik]

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
No. 003923/60-7

In Prague on July 1960

23 –

26/324

07/26/1960

Archive

Dear Comrade,
(illegible)
(illegible)

Highly Classified.

4 attachments
(stamp)

STATE CENTRAL ARCHIVE IN PRAGUE
DEGREE OF SECRECY CANCELED

Reason: file no. 267 261/01- OZÚ
(OZÚ = Section for Special Assignments]

Date: 01/11/02 Alena Noskova, Ph.D.

Signature:
(illegible)

For information of Czechoslovak Communist Party Central
Committee Politburo members, I attach 4 copies of a recorded
conversation of the cs. ambassador in the Democratic People's
Republic of Korea with the Soviet Union ambassador c. Puzanov.
The record contains details about the dealings of the Korean
delegation with c. Khrushchev in Moscow.
With comradely greetings

Esteemed Comrade
Jiri H e n d r y c h
Deputy of the Central Committee
Of the Czechoslovak Communist party

P r a g u e
(filed in the program
USA, struggle with)
(stamp)
STATE CENTRAL ARCHIVE IN PRAGUE
DEGREE OF SECRECY CANCELED
Reason: file no. 267 261/01- OZÚ
(OZÚ = Section for Special Assignments]
Date: 01/11/02 Alena Noskova, Ph.D.

Signature: (illegible)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

P r a h a

H i g h l y c l a s s i f i e d !

Subject: Record of a conversation with the Soviet ambassador to the DPRK, c. Puzanov on 23rd June 1960

I invited c. Puzanov for lunch on 23rd June to talk about the discussions with the Korean delegation in Moscow.

C. Puzanov told me that c. Kim Il Sung had talks with c. Khrushchev in Moscow. The most important topic of the discussion was his request for forgiving the post-war debt. It is about 700 – 800 million rubles. Neither the Korean nor the Soviet side had the data about the exact amount, including interest, at the time of the talks. As for the pre-war loan of 130 million rubles, the DPRK wants to pay it.

Further c. Kim Il Sung asked, within the framework of a trade agreement, that the USSR delivers 100,000 tons of wheat, 10,000 tons of cotton and 2 million tons of crude oil to the DPRK every year during the first five years of the seven-year plan, and that the Soviet Union helps to build the DPRK an oil refinery, and supplies [the DPRK] with necessary equipment. C. Khrushchev said they would deal with these issues as comrades, and ordered c. Kosygin to find out to what extent it was possible to meet the Korean requests. Further talks will be conducted either through the Ambassador, or c. Kim Il Sung will visit Moscow again. However, the Korean comrades were made aware, still during the talks, that cotton will not be available to them because the Soviet Union does not have enough of it and is delivering 400,000 tons to other socialist countries under the current obligations, and at the same time, it is importing 70,000 tons from China. C. Kim Il Sung said that China promised them 20,000 tons and that they are about to begin production of an artificial fiber (vinalon), which should amount to 20,000 tons a year in the next few years. C. Kim Il Sung informed c. Khrushchev about the main principles of their seven-year plan when in the first 3.5 years they want to develop namely light industry and agriculture. As for feeding the population, they want to achieve 30 kg of meat per person; further meat consumption should be satisfied with fish. They expect to support livestock production by double planting on 500 – 700 thousand ha: wheat before rice on irrigated fields, corn after wheat on un-irrigated fields.

C. Kim Il Sung then clarified how the Korean comrades view further development in South Korea. They expect some degree of democratization that will be conducive to the growth of progressive forces, which they intend to support in any way they can.

C. Khrushchev informed c. Kim Il Sung about the differences in opinion with the Chinese comrades and about their approach that resembles factional politics against the CPSU. Both c. Kim Il Sung and c. Kim Il, who took part in the meeting, expressed several times that they fully support the position of the CPSU. C. Kim Il Sung apologized for the approach of the DPRK delegate at the Worker's Unions Convention in Beijing with an explanation that the delegate is inexperienced and not knowledgeable about the matter. He said they published Mao Zedong's essay "Imperialism, the Paper Tiger" in the DPRK as well, but only because a good part of it dealt with revisionism that has not been

mentioned in the Korean press for quite while, and c. Kim Il Sung did not know that it was actually a disguised attack against the CPSU. (See the note at the end of the report.)

C. Kim Il Sung was presented with documents indicating that the splinter group of the KWP, exposed some time ago, was organized and supported by Chinese comrades against Kim Il Sung.

During the return flight, c. Kim Il Sung explained to c. Puzanov that he categorically disagrees with many things in China, for instance with communes. During his visit in China, Chinese comrades showed him one commune. Of course, they chose one of the best. Mao Zedong then suggested setting up communes according to the Chinese example. C. Kim Il Sung ordered at that time in some place to introduce communal meals in a similar way but it did not work. While visiting that village, he gathered the elders and asked their opinion. They told him the problem is that everybody eats three times as much regardless of accomplished work. Before, all ate in moderation. After this experience, the Korean comrades abandoned the idea of introducing communes and instead made steps at the beginning of the year to eliminate egalitarianism and to improve compensation for work in agriculture according to the amount and difficulty of work.

Then we talked about how the Chinese influence has been growing in the DPRK during the last year. C. Puzanov knows that c. Kim Il Sung made a secret visit to China recently. Even though c. Kim Il Sung fully supports the position of the CPSU, there seem to be number of officials around him who are under the influence of the Chinese comrades. The Chinese ambassador in the DPRK was glad to have become a (illegible) and is trying to exploit this function to his own benefit. I mentioned again to c. Puzanov his speech during the New Year's dinner organized by the Foreign Affairs Minister for the diplomatic corps. At that occasion, the Chinese ambassador delivered on behalf of the diplomatic corps a speech that he, however, did not forward to the other titular heads in advance for comments, as it is customary in such a case. In his speech, he never mentioned the peace efforts of c. Khrushchev and the necessity of a peaceful coexistence. C. Puzanov was not present at that time. To further demonstrate the approach of Chinese comrades, he also mentioned how during a recent visit in the PRC of an Albanian delegation headed by Hadzi Desi, Chinese comrades tried to get them to support their position. However, a Politburo member c. Belikova decisively rejected their attempts.

According to c. Puzanov, soviet comrades are of the opinion that it is necessary to help the DPRK. They will handle the matter of aid in a brotherly manner, as c. Khrushchev said.

After lunch, I showed c. Puzanov the construction site of the new embassy.

Ambassador:

(illegible)

Note: C. Puzanov first talked in the sense as if Mao Zedong's essay "Imperialism, the Paper Tiger" was published in the Korean press. When I could not find anything like that, I asked him again when and where it was published. He told me that it was an article in Nodong Sinmun from the 12th and the 14th of this month about Zedong's ideas. Actually, a Korean journalist published an article of no special content about the PRC named "Mao Zedong's Ideas Flourish All Over China" in Nodong Sinmun on the 12th and the 14th of

this month. I was not able to find out which particular article c. Kim Il Sung was talking about.

Ambassador:

Print No.: 2

Sheets: 3

Classified Attachments:

/

Other Attachments: /

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DOCUMENT No. 23

[Source: MOL, XIX-J-1-j Korea, 8. doboz, 5/f, 0029/RT/1960. Obtained for NKIDP by Csaba Bekes and translated for NKIDP by József Litkei]

Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry

2 July 1960

On the morning of 1 July, Czechoslovak Ambassador Kohousek invited me for a friendly conversation during which we exchanged views on several issues concerning the DPRK's foreign and domestic policies and the general line of policy of the fraternal countries in the Far East.

On my part, I informed the Comrade Ambassador of the DPRK's Seven-year Plan and certain economic issues related to Kim Il Sung's visit to Moscow in June (see my other related reports). Concerning the latter issue, the Ambassador confidentially told me that according to the information received from Soviet Ambassador Puzanov, Comrade Khrushchev is going to visit Korea around 8-10 September. Concerning the Seven-year Plan, he referred to Comrade Kim Il Sung and informed me that the objectives of that plan will naturally be higher than that of the five year plan to have a greater greater effect among the South Korean masses.

During the informal and friendly conversation which lasted for several hours, the Ambassador expressed the following:

Lately, there has been a certain palpable hidden difference between the views of the Chinese and the Soviet comrades, especially concerning the interpretation of the slogan of peaceful coexistence and the issue of people's communes. To his knowledge, in the past, the Chinese Communist Party CC had already pointed out some excesses and deficiencies in relation to the organization of communes. Despite this—according to the information he received—there has been no changes in the question of the communes and, for example, the principle of egalitarianism still prevails in the system of distribution practiced in the communes. According to the opinion of Comrade Kohousek, the idea of peaceful coexistence is somewhat unpopular

among the people's democracies of the Far East, and this idea indeed has a real basis. After all, this principle means peaceful coexistence with US imperialism, which for any Chinese, Korean or Vietnamese is at least difficult to understand, given that for them the US represents their fiercest national enemy, which they are not willing to tolerate in either Taiwan or South Korea, etc. (I would like to mention that to our knowledge, when it comes to the Korean party's education method when dealing with the material of the 20th and 21st [CPSU] Congress, the question of the two systems' peaceful coexistence is, so to say, hardly dealt with.) In addition to this, both China and Korea are so much occupied with their "own" international issues (Taiwan and South Korea, respectively), that it is difficult and awkward for them to accept the German question as the central problem of international life. In order to demonstrate this, Comrade Kohousek referred to the behavior of the Chinese at the June session of the Supreme Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Beijing and to the articles published in China for the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth. He [Kohousek] also mentioned that in the speech of the Chinese Ambassador doyen in Pyongyang, given on the occasion of the New Year's reception, he did not even mention the slogan of peaceful coexistence and—contrary to custom—did not send his draft speech in advance to the ambassadors.

This [attitude] in the DPRK was evident on several occasions during the last year, most strikingly in the appeal of the DPRK's Supreme People's Assembly last autumn and in the letter addressing the parliaments of the world, in which they presented the Korean question as the most burning international problem. In the last months, according to the opinion of Comrade Kohousek, the Korean comrades became more reserved concerning this issue.

According to his observations, China's influence in the DPRK has increased significantly during the last year—especially after Comrade Khrushchev's visit to Korea was again canceled. (In the course of the conversation, Comrade Kohousek disapprovingly alluded several times to the Chinese Ambassador to P'yongyang, who uses his position as doyen to his own benefit in a very skillful way, and tries his best to please the Korean comrades.)

Comrade Kohousek nevertheless emphasized that in spite of China's great influence in Korea, the Korean comrades have never tried to copy the Chinese experiences. He referred to the example of communes, which, according to his knowledge, were the subjects of experiments but in the end the idea of their introduction to Korea was firmly rejected. Moreover, recently the Korean comrades have emphatically urged that the income distribution in agriculture be based on the quantity and quality of the work performed.

Concerning other political issues, it is undeniable that the Korean comrades are committing some mistakes along the way. We both agreed, for example, that the evaluations made during the South Korean events had some weak sides (see my report No. 77). Despite this, the practical steps taken by the Workers' Party and the government were correct. The pursuit of autarky is still strong. Comrade Kohousek pointed out that in his view the Chinese influence is decreasing (understanding by this the above-mentioned political issues), and the Korean comrades stress more often and with more emphasis the peaceful [emphasis in the original] unification of the country, and there are signs that they no longer seek to place the Korean question a the forefront of international relations.

I informed Comrade Kohousek of my conversation with Deputy Foreign Minister Yu Chang-sik concerning the visit of Kim Il Sung in Moscow (see my report No. 90). In the opinion of the Comrade Ambassador, it was not without reason for Comrade Yu Chang-sik to emphasize the complete agreement of views between the Soviet and Korean parties, since in his [Kohousek's] opinion the main focus of the negotiations was after all not so much on economic but political questions, and the deputy foreign minister presumably alluded to this. According to the Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister, it cannot be ruled out that Kim Il Sung also visited China prior to his visit to Moscow, but he does not have any data concerning this. He stressed, however, that in his views, the Moscow talks meant a turning point in the political and party life of the DPRK. The agreement of views emphasized by the Foreign Minister means that in domestic and foreign political questions, the DPRK completely shares the position of the Soviet Union.

Károly Práth
Ambassador



DOCUMENT No. 24

[Source: GDR Foreign Ministry Archive (PolA AA, MfAA, A 6982). Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer, January 2009.]

GDR Foreign Ministry
1st Extra-European Department
Korean Section
Berlin, 2 November 1960

A s s e s s m e n t of [GDR Embassy] Report¹ [on Economic Situation of DPRK] for 1st Semester [of 1960]

In its assessment of economic developments, this report includes for the first time problems arising from political work, in particular that of the Party. It demonstrates very clearly the political components of certain decisions on the DPRK economy, and the conclusions drawn by the Party for its political and economic work. Yet it looks to us like a deficit that the report presents the implementation of commitments in the transition year, and the overcoming of disproportions and weaknesses of certain economic branches, mostly as problems of working style, and as questions of how to fight formalism and bureaucracy in the work of local institutions.

The [1959] December plenary session [of the KWP] has outlined a new basic concepts for the Party's economic policies. These concepts were based on the real

¹ Report itself not included. Translated assessment is more comprehensive and analytical.

situation in late 1959:

1. Over-fulfillment of the Five-Year-Plan in gross production. Yet this creates severe tensions (disproportions) in relations between industrial branches, in particular concerning heavy industry.
2. Falling behind of consumer goods industry, especially local industry.
3. Falling behind of agriculture.

All these phenomena were caused by violations of the economic law of planned and proportional development.

Furthermore, there were the following notable factors:

1. Direct economic aid by the socialist states, which previously represented a major part of investments, has essentially been phased out.
2. Through falling behind of branches commissioned with the supply of the population, and in combination with wage increases, disproportions were created between purchasing power and the deficient supply of goods.

Elimination of these tensions ultimately signifies the restoration of appropriate proportions in developing a national economy. Given the conditions of the actual economic course as it was in effect in 1959, this meant to change the basic economic concept. Namely: Utilization of all domestic reserves, in particular, increasing work productivity and the utilization coefficients of institutions, and the lowering of primary costs.

By simultaneously tackling a major number of industrial objects, starting credit repayments, and undertaking large projects in the area of housing construction, options for new investments were severely limited. Therefore they basically follow this line: Completion of industrial projects already initiated, and focus on essential branches of industry. This situation premeditated the decisions made at the 1959 December plenum. Comrade Pak Seongcheol referred to the new situation in the Party's economic policy ("Nodong Sinmun" of 19 March 1960).

It is now imperative for the Party's work to enable its members to explain the new complicated tasks to the masses and assume leadership in the movement for socialist brigades and innovators, i.e. to orient the great enthusiasm of Korean workers towards the correct assignments.

Yet such cannot be achieved with the current working habits of many party and state organs, in particular at local levels, as the work to be done requires creative leadership. This seems to be the reason why [the KWP] is currently paying major attention to improvements in the party's working habits and style.

The tasks ahead must be explained in such a way to make all workers understand that the new economic policy does not apply for this year of transition only. It looks like it became evident during the course of 1960, that the main targets of the transition year are not within realistic reach during this very year. Such can be inferred from partitioning the Seven-Year-Plan into two stages, as we have learned from Kim Il Sung's speech on

15 August 1960. The report of our embassy should not have failed to reference these important facts.

The report hints at, but does not explain, how most of the tense problems have not been fully solved yet; due to the various production branches' plan compliances respectively non-compliances. In this vein, some of the report's conclusions appear to be optimistic to us here [at the Foreign Ministry]. Not that we have doubts about the possibility to solve problems as such. Yet it constitutes such a problem when all tasks are still valid for an extended period (at least the first two to three years of the Seven-Year-Plan). In our opinion, this again raises the question of how to assess the basic concept of the transition year. The embassy report refers to this fact, but it seems to us as not having been sufficiently, and appropriately, highlighted.

We have drawn some conclusions from this report.

Agriculture

Obviously it is difficult to assess the field-intensive DPRK agriculture without knowledge of the harvests' results.

Yet the non-compliance with tasks of supply for agriculture and for the peasants (mechanization, goods from local industries for mass consumption), the further falling behind in animal breeding, and the now evident problems supplying the people with basic and special goods, seem to be the result of a lack of incentives for the peasants to sell more of their products to the state. We think this is not only a problem of pricing, but in particular the question of what agricultural cooperatives can actually buy for themselves with their money. If you infer from the fact that the agricultural cooperative "Korean-German Friendship" has 220,000 Won in their account, it serves as evidence how certain necessary equipment is unavailable due to deficits pertaining to the supply of goods. Problems of local industries, which are largely responsible for providing the supply of mass consumer goods, thus have a major impact on the agricultural situation.

We do not know the exact details of the causes of obvious problems. You can only make general assumptions based on reports and statistical data. The problems of economic relations between cities and the countryside, between industry and agriculture warrant special consideration in a separate analysis. Just to list some of the problems here:

- Function and actual functioning of the stores to buy products.
- New rules for price ranges for agricultural products. There are government subsidies for the price of rice. We do not know whether this pattern also applies to other products. With market prices constant, an increase in producer rates ought to result in an increase in subsidies. This will lead to further strain on the government budget and would in turn lead to a further contracting of options to make investments.
- For some time already, the falling behind of animal breeding is noteworthy. In November 1958 already, the extended session of the KWP Central Committee's Standing Committee passed a resolution about the need for rapid development of stock farming. The Party plenum in June 1959 underlined the importance of this talk, and during the December plenary session there were again clear-cut instructions. Yet it seems that they even failed to convince the peasants of the

basic necessity of stock farming. Material incentives do not seem to exist and, especially, mandatory requirements like the existence of young stock and winter fodder are not met everywhere.

- This situation creates problems in terms of providing food for the population. In our analysis, we assessed the turnover of goods with a ratio of 50:50 between industrial products and foodstuff. Yet the “Minju Choson” newspaper stated on 13 September 1959 that 75 percent of people’s income must be spent for the purchase of food. If we assume that the remaining 25 percent, rents and other expenditures notwithstanding, are spent to buy industrial products, the share of industrial products in the overall sales volume of goods has decreased even more than we expected in our analysis (overall turnover growth of one percent with an increase of foodstuff turnover of 25 percent). Thus the already rather unfavorable ratio between foodstuff and industrial products did not improve during the first half of 1960.

- This situation helps to understand the major efforts undertaken in local industries. It also underlines the importance assigned to the [upcoming] opening of the Vinalon factory.

These examples are supposed to serve as evidence, here leaving aside farm machines and fertilizer industries, for certain deficits in proportion between agriculture and local industries which are right now obviously quite problematic. The fertilizer industry has not yet reached the production results of the year 1958. This situation further aggravates the one mentioned above and leads us to another major problem: energy supply.

The [cited GDR embassy] report only reports a part of the story, namely the non-compliance with plan targets by 7 percent. The reason for this non-compliance is noted correctly by pointing to water shortages in hydroelectric power plants. Yet the second fact to be considered here seems to us even more important, namely that electrical energy is absolutely insufficient, even if the plan would have been fulfilled.

In 1957 about one half of DPRK energy use was consumed by the chemical industry (3.4 billion Kilowatt per hour). In 1959 energy production increased to 7.8 billion Kilowatt per hour. However, energy demand grew even more through the opening of new plants (Bongun, Hichon, Electrolyte Zinc plant in Nampho). Next year the Vinalon plant [in Hamhung] will be added as another major user of energy. In order to improve the energy situation decisively, only the launch of new capacities will suffice. Until 1961 about 500 Megawatt of electricity will be added. Et even this growth does not seem to keep up with the growth of energy users. In our mind, major reserves to save energy are with industrial plants, not with the people. There also seem to be reserves within electrical energy. In 1958 production was 7.6 billion Kilowatts per hour. Installed power in 1958 was 1360 Megawatts (according to “Novosti Korei”, No. 20, 1960). Respective calculations point to an average utilization of Korean power plants of 64 percent. At this point, the water shortage problems seem to set in.

All these were the problems we analyzed when working through the report by our Pyongyang Embassy for the first semester of 1960. Our remarks do obviously change nothing of the overall positive assessment of this report. Many of our conclusions and opinions we could only reach on the basis of this report. We discussed it jointly with the

comrades of the Government Planning Commission and the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

For our future work we have drawn the conclusion to emphasize even more the correlations between political and economic tasks in our own assessments.

Gräbner

CC

1x Embassy

2x Section [Korea, Foreign Ministry]

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DOCUMENT No. 25

[GDR Foreign Ministry Archive (PolA AA, MfAA, A 6980). Obtained and translated by Bernd Schaefer for NKIDP.]

Excerpts from Translation from “Nodong Sinmun”, 13 December 1960

Report by [Chinese] Army General Ra Se-kjon at Event Commemorating the Return of PRC Military Delegation from Visit to DPRK

Comrades!

Please allow me to speak for our military delegation returning from a visit to the DPRK and give a report about our visit to Korea.

Our country's military delegation stayed in the DPRK at the invitation of Kim Kwanghyeop, Minister of National Defense, between 23 October and 11 November 1960 for a friendship visit to celebrate the 10th Anniversary of the participation of Chinese volunteers in the Korean War. The delegation was joined on this visit by an ensemble of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

The delegation visited fifteen major and minor units in Pyongyang, Kaesong, Kwanju, Sunchon, Huichon, Wonsan, Kumgang, Hamhung, Chongjin etc., nine factories, one agricultural commune, and a dam with reservoir. We laid wreaths at three monuments for fallen soldiers, enjoyed five artistic performances, and met with hundreds of thousands of workers.

[...]

During our visit we saw how the Korean people have achieved stunningly great successes in a short term, pertaining to postwar reconstruction as well the building of socialism.

Some time after the signing of the armistice in 1953, Marshal Hal-chon visited Korea as head of a delegation of the Chinese people. Back then Marshal Hal-chon saw in Korea how all cities had been turned to rubble and ashes, and how there was not one single un-damaged building in Pyongyang. Yet now he observed how the Korean cities

have changed completely.

For instance, the cities of Pyongyang, Wonsan, Hamhung, Chongjin etc. have been rebuilt as modern, new cities. High-rises are lined up next to each other, the streets are clean, orderly, and beautiful. They are filled with people. It is now completely impossible to find traces of the war. People would not believe in such miracles if they had not seen them with their own eyes.

The villages were seriously destroyed during the war as well. In many of those villages no stone remained on top of another. Yet now they are completely reconstructed, and there are no vestiges of the war left. Only rarely you see a few bomb craters.

In the area of industry, Korea began in 1957, after a three-year period of reconstruction, with the implementation of the first five-year-plan. This plan was fulfilled pertaining to the entirety of industrial production two and a half years early.

This year [1960] industrial production rose 3.5 times compared to 1956, 6.4 times compared to the pre-war year of 1949, and 7.7 times compared to 1944, the year before the liberation. The equipment of factories we visited was even more modern than in the pre-war period. They produce several high-quality products, and in quantitative terms of production they surpass those of the pre-war period multiple times.

For instance, during the war, bombs fell within an average radius of 1 square meter on the smelter in Hwanghae. The factory and its equipment were almost completely destroyed. Yet within just one year after the [1953] armistice, the smelter was rebuilt with Korean materials and Korean equipment. Blast furnace "Number 1" and the coke battery were erected, and thus daily steel production reached 800 tons. The fertilizer factory in Hynam was also completely destroyed through bombing during the war. Yet today it has been significantly enlarged compared to the pre-war period, and production rose by 4.3 times compared to that earlier period. Under Japanese rule only somewhat more than 400 workers and 10 machines worked in the mechanical engineering factory of Hyeongsan. Now this very factory has been turned into a site for the production of large machines with more than 5,000 workers. An 8-meter-roundabout-lathe was built, as well as a 3,000-ton-press. In the Chongjin steel mill iron clumps [luppen] are made from minor-value ore and anthracite. Currently each rotary kiln produces 90 tons daily, while there were only 41 tons made per day during the pre-war period. In many respects we [in China] have to learn from such a method to produce iron clumps [luppen].

In the field of agriculture, collectivization has already been achieved completely. One million farms were concentrated into 3,800 agricultural cooperatives. Also irrigation and electrification have been basically completed. Currently they undertake major efforts to implement mechanization. Irrigated areas in Korea comprise of 800,000 joengbo, this is seven times as much as in the pre-war period.

This year they had a good harvest. According to statistical data, they expect the entire grain harvest to reach 3,803 million tons this year, i.e. 40 percent more than before the liberation and two times the harvest of 1946. This way the norms for grain production, as outlined in the first Five-Year-Plan in the field of agriculture, will be fulfilled one year before the deadline.

The delegation visited the agricultural cooperative for Korean-Chinese friendship in Sanjong in Sunan County. This cooperative was built in December 1953 by 12 families of murdered patriots (small peasants), yet meanwhile it has turned into a major cooperative with 756 farms and more than 1,500 members. This cooperative owns 1620

hectares of land, 327 cows, 671 pigs, 13 tractors, 65 stationary threshers, 2 cars and 6 narrow gauge railroads. This year they have mostly harvested rice and cotton. Also illiteracy has been completely eradicated there. The cooperative has an emergency room, a primary school, childcare facilities, baths, a radio network and a club. In this cooperative we have already seen how the Korean peasants have entered the promising path towards a life in utmost dignity.

Korea also flourishes in cultural and educational terms. Currently there are 2.5 learners and students (on average there is one learner out of four inhabitants), and the number of students has reached 100,000. Comprehensive general high-school education is realized in the entire country on a mandatory basis. In some factories, almost 80 percent of the entire workforce masters the knowledge of high school graduates. The course of linking education to productive labor is applied in every respect. High school graduates enter universities only after two years in production or in military service. University students do two month of productive labor every year.

[...] [Remarks on Korean music and dance performances during the Chinese delegation's visit]

Living standards of the people have been raised substantially. A large number of apartments were built in cities and villages. The problems of clothing and feeding the people have also been resolved. Everybody we met was healthy and attractive. It must be emphasized that steadfastness, simplicity, industriousness and entrepreneurship remain the elements of the Korean people's eminent style.

These great successes in building socialism in Korea were made possible thanks to the correct leadership of the KWP with Comrade Kim Il Sung at its helm, and thanks to the elevating enthusiasm of the entire Korean people. In addition, the assistance provided to the Korean people from the fraternal countries also had a certain impact.

The KWP defined the basic course for economic build-up like that: Simultaneous development of agriculture and light industry with priority development assigned to heavy industry. In addition, the KWP organized the Chollima Movement in the entire population to create the basis for self-reliant economic foundations. Countrywide more than 227,000 people participated in Chollima and thus accelerated the speed of socialist construction. All facts testify that the KWP course to build socialism in a rapid fashion is completely correct. Now the KWP has announced a Seven-Year-Plan to develop the economy. The implementation of the Seven-Year-Plan will turn Korea into a developed socialist industrial country. [...]

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DOCUMENT No. 26

[Source: Czech Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Adolf Kotlík]

8. 28. 1962

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(illegible). 267 261/01- OZÚ
(OZÚ = Section for Special Assignments)

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Signature:
(illegible)

Highly classified!

Record of c. Durcak's conversation with the USSR ambassador c. Moskovskii (in the Democr. People's Republic of)

This year on 25 August, I paid an official visit to the new USSR ambassador c. Moskovskii. C. Moskovskii's welcome was very friendly, and in a quite opened conversation, he informed me about the content of some of his conversations with Korean comrades on the occasion of the official visits he made.

First of all, he informed me about his conversation with the DPRK Minister of Higher Education, concerning the recall of Korean students from the ESCC (European Socialist Camp Countries), supposedly for the stay in the homeland during this year's summer break (t.c.027.120 – meaning unknown). C. Moskovskii said that students were recalled from the Soviet Union as well. The DPRK Minister of Higher Education said it was because their cadre background report does not meet the requirements of the KWP and the Korean people. Indicative of it, as they say, is the fact that many students do not want to return to the homeland. They would rather already live in socialism than to help build it in Korean conditions. Many students who were recalled home for the summer break will not be coming back. Their cadre background will be reviewed, and only the best will be awarded this trust. In any case, namely those students who have served 3 years in the military or have worked in a factory will be eligible. All students are now at a learning camp and those among them will be chosen who are the most stalwart politically. The Minister said that all students went through exams and their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism in particular was evaluated. Korean comrades found serious shortcomings in the way Marxism-Leninism is being taught in the ESCC; students do not know much in that area, especially about Korea and Korean issues. Marxism-Leninism is being taught in the DPRK as well as anywhere else and even better. In response to that, c. Moskovskii is said to have commented that there actually are some differences in teaching Marxism-Leninism, and pointed out that in some Korean university textbooks "juche" can be found. In his criticism of the way Marxism-Leninism is taught in the ESCC, the Minister is said to have talked strongly about the conditions in the GDR, which he blames for Korean students refusing to return home. C. Moskovskii said that there were about 6 cases in the USSR as well when Korean students refused to return to the DPRK. They say that Koreans tried to kidnap one of them in a sack, a very talented conservatory student. When c. Khrushchev learned about it, he got very angry and said that the Soviet Union was not America, and Koreans had to release the kidnapped student. Otherwise, Soviet comrades try to convince all Korean students that it is their duty to return home.

C. Moskovskii also told me that he has talked with c. Kim Il Sung twice since his arrival in the DPRK. He relayed to c. Kim Il Sung an invitation from c. Khrushchev for a therapy session in the Soviet Union. However, c. Kim Il Sung excused himself because

he has a lot to do now when doctors allowed him to work. When he is able to free himself, he will surely accept the invitation because, as he says, nobody but Soviet comrades can help him. In a conversation with c. Moskovskii, c. Kim Il Sung asked him to assure c. Khrushchev that all attempts to drive a wedge between their two countries will fail, and that the relations between the two countries have never been as good as now. Even earlier during the visit last spring of c. Moskovskii as a head of the Soviet government delegation, c. Li Jaeseong said that Korean comrades fully agree with the policy of the USSR and the CPSU, but they cannot afford for the Chinese comrades to think that they do not agree with them. The memory of the Chinese volunteers is so strong and alive among the Korean people that any differences with the PRC would necessarily make its mark on the internal situation in the DPRK. Korean comrades were also said to be afraid after the XXII Congress to loosen their grip of the situation, so that "it does not end up like with Choibalsan". When c. Moskovskii took the office of ambassador to the DPRK, c. Khrushchev told him at the departure that it was necessary to do everything possible to win c. Kim Il Sung over and to strengthen his party line among vacillators, and he directly asked him to assure c. Kim Il Sung that attacks on Stalin's personality cult have nothing to do with c. Kim Il Sung, that he can "sleep well and not suffer over it". While saying good-bye, c. Kozlov told him that the personality cult exists in the DPRK but the personality cult of c. Kim Il Sung cannot be equaled to that of Stalin. A personality cult is not based on the number of pictures painted or how many times a leader is referred to. C. Kim Il Sung knows the situation and is in contact with the people. The Ch'ongsan-ni method is successful and is justified in current conditions. Soviet comrades look positively at measures taken by Korean comrades in industry and agriculture. As the main dangers for Koreans, they see spreading nationalism and tendencies towards isolationism. They admit that Korean nationalism is very strong. C. Moskovskii stated that nationalism is widespread namely among the cadres. Common people have a good attitude towards foreigners. During a visit with the Minister of International Trade, Li Ilgyeong, the Minister assured c. Moskovskii that they will never betray the friendship with the Soviet Union and the numerous Soviet friends. He expressed a concern about the economic negotiations between the USSR and Japan. Japan, he says, is on the verge of an economic crisis, and, according to the opinion of the Minister, the USSR is helping them to postpone the crisis.

C. Moskovskii also said Korean comrades told him that a USSR party/government delegation may come to the DPRK anytime at its convenience either in the fall or in the spring. C. Moskovskii did not say directly whether c. Khrushchev is expected to head the delegation.

I thanked c. Ambassador for the friendly welcome and the information, and, considering the very good relations of our staff with the Soviet embassy, and the major personnel changes at our as well as the USSR embassy, I asked him that Soviet friends extend their goodwill and support also to our successors, as it has been to us. C. Moskovskii said that he would do his best in order that the relations between our embassies develop as friendly as possible. He knows c. Moravec and is looking forward to working with him.

I do not include a more detailed characteristic of c. Moskovskii since he is a well-known personality also in the CSSR. He is establishing himself in the diplomatic

corps in Pyongyang very nicely. His interaction with our embassy is especially friendly, which indicates a very good personal attitude towards the CSSR.

Recorded: Durcak
08/28/1962

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 27

[Source: Czech Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Adolf Kotlik]

Highly classified.
file no. 267
261/01- OZÚ
(OZÚ = Section for
Special Assignments]
01/11/02
Signature:
(illegible)

For your information, we attached a recorded conversation of the Cs. Ambassador in the DPRK c. Moravec with the USSR ambassador c. Moskovskii and the GDR ambassador c. Becker. In connection with the complaint of c. Kim Il Sung, included on page 7 of this report, we are preparing an instruction for the staff of our embassy in Pyongyang.

Head of department

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
003790/63-7
I. In Prague on
5/16/1963
Mailing of a conversation record.
Attachment: 1
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs
7th Territorial Department
P r a g u e
Memorandum of a conversation with the USSR
Ambassador c. V.P. Moskovskii and the GDR
Ambassador c. Otto Becker.

On 23rd April of this year, the GDR Ambassador invited me to his office for a meeting along with the USSR Ambassador c. Moskovskii. C. Becker then informed us about his visit at the KWP CC Deputy Chairman c. Bak Kim Cheol, and said that c. Bak Kim Cheol welcomed him very friendly, started with the development of the DPRK and

continued talking about cooperation of the DPRK with the GDR. He said that the DPRK is very interested in cooperation with the GDR namely when it comes to the economy. At the same time he informed c. Becker that comrade Kim Il Sung instructed party and government officials to keep strengthening decisively economic ties with all socialist camp countries.

Comrade Becker then wanted to lead the conversation to political issues and informed c. Bak Kim Cheol about the resolution of the VI. SED Convention, namely about the 7 platform points and how they were received by the international communist movement. C. Bak Kim Cheol listened and then turned to the issues of development in South Korea and to the possibilities of a peaceful unification of the country. He said that the DPRK adheres in principle to the plan of creating a confederacy of the two parts of Korea, as c. Kim Il Sung talked about it in a government exposé in October of this year. However, the main objective of the DPRK today is to facilitate an overthrow in South Korea of the military junta of Pak Chung Hi. C. Becker pointed out that he was amazed by the fact that c. Bak Kim Cheol did not talk about the USA and the necessity to drive Americans from the South, and talked only about Pak Chung Hi. He stressed that, on the contrary, c. Bak Kim Cheol emphasized the necessity of a peaceful unification, which, of course, will not be possible before the rule of Pak Chung Hi is overthrown. In connection with that, he told c. Becker that he believes SED proposals for creation of a confederation of the both German states is a viable policy and that the DPRK supports all GDR proposals in this matter, namely for signing a peace treaty with Germany (he did not mention the USSR proposals at all).

He then said that the DPRK supported very decisively the GDR government's provision from the 13th August 1961, and that the DPRK will continue supporting as well all correct decisions of the GDR government.

C. Becker further informed us that the Headquarters made him aware that Chinese diplomats must have received instructions to engage in conversations about various opinions concerning the communist movement. German comrades think that the purpose of these conversations is probing for and collecting of the opinions from our fraternal parties, so that they could use them in negotiations and for possible argumentation against the CPSU CC. German comrades reject such conversations in principle and consider them as an attempt to transfer these differences in opinion into international relations.

Next, c. Moskovsky informed us about his visit with c. Kim Il Sung (my record no. 0013/63). He said that he visited him on 22nd April and that the conversation took almost two hours. First, he gave him a copy of "memorable notes" and briefly informed him about its content. He also asked c. Kim Il Sung for his opinion about the matter. C. Kim Il Sung, however, remained quiet and, after few minutes of a awkward pause, he offered c. Moskovsky that he would inform him about the current situation in the DPRK. C. Moskovsky welcomed this offer and then c. Kim Il Sung briefly described:

1) The economic situation in the DPRK. He said they succeeded in meeting the quarter year plan but especially recently, a disproportion between the mining and processing industries is deepening considerably. Coal and ore mines are said to be falling very much behind and failing to satisfy consumption. Because of that, it is said that the KWP CC was forced, after a thorough review of the situation, to revise the investment policy and to introduce decisive measures for curtailing further growth of the

processing industry. A considerable part of investments, they said, then had to be transferred to the mining industry. This step is said to necessarily mean suspension of further construction of processing plants. On the other hand, they say, the existing, already realised investments will be fully utilized in their current capacity.

2) In connection with that, he informed c. Moskovskii the KWP CC is currently dealing intensively with the issues of directing enterprises and namely with both the science-technology and theoretical-economic aspect of the industrial development of the DPRK. He allegedly told c. Moskovskii that in connection with this, the KWP CC was organizing for May a plenary meeting (KWP CC members allegedly have not been informed about it yet), the agenda of which would consist of two points. First, the KWP CC would listen to reports from chairmen of KWP PO (Parent Organizations) from the most important plants like in Teen, Chongjin and so on (altogether about 20), and second, they will deal with the complexities of directing enterprises and with the theoreticaleconomical issues of industrial production.

C. Kim Il Sung also informed c. Moskovskii that the KWP CC recently organized a meeting together with science/technology professionals and theoretical economists. Of course, the KWP CC leaders studies in detail the situation in these sectors. It is said that at the meeting, c. Kim Il Sung had to strongly criticize the irresponsible approach and other shortcomings in the work of these professionals. He is said to have pointed out openly a number of shortcomings, especially not applying in production (the results of) science/technological experiments and not being interested in them, an irresponsible approach of science/technology cadres to collecting and generalizing of practical experience, that not a single scientific or technological paper has been published in the DPRK so far from which namely students and workers could gain a deeper understanding of the given issues. C. Kim Il Sung is said to have condemned yet another lack of interest in economics theory. C. Kim Il Sung talked with great indignation about a serious shortage in the DPRK of any, albeit concise textbooks of industrial economy that would help economists, as well as workers, to better familiarize themselves with the most basic issues of the socialist economy.

He said that the KWP CC is now dealing very intensively with these issues and ordered the competent leading professionals to commence compilation of the required textbooks.

3) In connection with the current situation in managing the national economy, c. Kim Il Sung is said to have informed c Moskovskii that the KWP CC has decided to establish about 20 experimental regional centers (in regions where industry is concentrated) where a new management method should be tested. The KWP CC was forced to take this step allegedly because there is still deep confusion and indecision in carrying out the duties of a chief engineer and namely of enterprize party organizations' chairmen. Considering these shortcomings, the KWP CC decided to appoint experienced political operatives from the CC, who also have professional qualifications, as heads of organizations in these industrial centers. Current chairmen of organizations in predominantly industrial regions were appointed as deputy chairmen. However, most of these old chairmen are said to have been transferred to the lead positions in agricultural management committees because they dealt mostly with agricultural issues in the past anyway, and neglected the industrial issues most of the time.

C. Kim Il Sung also pointed out to c. Moskovskii that this system (obviously a

Korean application of Soviet experience) still needs many clarifications, especially in the supervision of the chief engineer's work. The purpose of this new system is to be, among other things, ensuring the science-technological development and consistent implementation of the principles of socialist economics in the economy of the DPRK.

4) As for the agriculture, c. Kim Il Sung informed c. Moskovskii that the Korean village currently suffers from many shortcomings, the most serious of which is still insufficient mechanization and also severe shortage of workforce. At the same time, the Korean agriculture is facing this year a serious challenge of expanding the arable area for planting rice by 70 thousand (square) "chongbo" (1 "chongbo" is 1000 steps or squared, about 0.99 ha), so that the total area reserved for rice would reach 600,000 "chongbo" by fall. Of course, that requires further irrigation. The Korean village is seriously hindered by predominantly primitive way of land cultivation. It is said to be very easy for Soviet comrades to develop virgin lands – they can deploy numerous tractors and other state-of-the-art equipment for this work. However, in the DPRK, everything depends on manual labor that is mostly on the same level as it was centuries ago. They say the irrigation system has been and to a large degree is being built the same way. The KWP CC therefore decided that it is necessary to shift majority of investments towards procurement of the needed machinery. A considerable part of the investments will also be set aside for finishing the irrigation systems, especially the distribution hubs.

In the following conversation, c. Kim Il Sung mentioned to c. Moskovskii the task of securing sufficient workforce for the village, outlined by the plenary of the KWP CC. He said that agriculture suffers from large shortage of people; therefore, they issued a strict ban on hiring new workers from agriculture for industrial jobs. Nevertheless, they say, it does not mean that the growth of the workers class will be in jeopardy. They said that before discussing this mater, the KWP CC conducted a thorough investigation and found that in cities, there is a sufficient number of women who can immediately start doing lighter work and make men available for those industry sectors that demand hard physical labor. They supported this statement with the example of the city Chongjin where there are allegedly in reserve 9,000 women capable to take an industrial job anytime.

On the other hand, there is the requirement to strengthen the village with new workers. The KWP CC and the DPRK government is said to have initiated steps for sending in the nearest future urban workers to help in agriculture. (According to our information reported recently, about a million workers from cities are to be sent to work in agriculture.)

5) C. Kim Il Sung shared with c. Moskovskii an interesting piece of information about South Korea as well.

He told him that everything seems to indicate that what in South Korea is slowly getting energized is especially intelligentsia, which, expressing the interests of the national bourgeoisie, is more and more openly demanding national independence and sovereignty. Growing number of anonymous articles (probably editorials) in the South Korean press is said to be indicative of it. C. Kim Il Sung also expressed an opinion that especially the last days of political chaos in South Korea when students are becoming energized, show new moments. Admittedly, he says, it does not mean that the situation is ripe for a revolution but, he claims, it clearly shows that the crisis there is ripening.

In connection with that, he says, the DPRK economy, which must become the main revolutionizing factor for South Korean citizens, will play progressively more important role. C. Moskovskii (for whom this argument was very surprising because it was completely ignored in the DPRK lately) allegedly could not help telling c. Kim Il Sung that this was eventually a Leninist approach. C. Kim Il Sung smiled and said that it was actually a very correct idea of Lenin.

6) Later in his conversation about South Korea and namely about challenges in front of the DPRK after the unification of the country, c. Kim Il Sung stressed the issues of ideology.

First of all he told c. Moskovskii that he has studied all c. Khrushchev's papers concerning ideological methods of the CPSU, and that he liked much of what c. Khrushchev said, especially when it comes to the work with artists. He told him, to the word: "it is necessary to have a very good grip of this audience and not to loosen the reins." Talking about the ideological work of the KWP, he showed that they now have to engage especially the young people who think that "the smokestacks have always been here and (*illegible*) as well as other houses just grew on their own." That's why the KWP now works diligently on the class theory education. Attention is focused in this direction also because after the unification of the both parts of the country, a bitter struggle is expected to ensue with all kinds of bourgeoisie influences, which is what not only communists and komsomols must be ready for, but also all citizens of the DPRK. How soon and successfully they deal with the next stage of struggle that awaits them is said to depend on how well the KWP manages to educate and make stalwart the working class as well as all the DPRK workers.

At the end of his meeting with c. Moskovskii, c. Kim Il Sung complained about the recently recalled counsel-ambassador c. Krukov. He told c. Moskovskii that c. Krukov, who had been in the DPRK since 1959, obviously forgot that something had changed in the DPRK. As he stayed in the DPRK in times when the country was only being built and staff members, namely in the Foreign Ministry, were new and inexperienced, it was only natural that they turned to the Soviet comrades for advice. It was in times, as explained, when the Soviet and some few other embassies of the SCC (Socialist Camp Countries) were accepted not merely as embassies but rather as centers of fraternal council. C. Krukov then allegedly made many friends among ministers and other party or government leaders. However, at that time he got used to openly talking about various measures of the KWP CC and the DPRK government at all kinds of social gatherings. Now, when the DPRK is entering into diplomatic relations with many nonsocialist countries, such public comments could have serious consequences and could in the best case weaken our unity. That's why c. Kim Il Sung, as he says, wants to bring this behavior of c. Krukov to c. Moskovskii's attention and to explain why none of c. Krukov's former friends among ministers and KWP leaders came to say good-bye. C. Kim Il Sung also told c. Moskovskii not to interpret it that they were against criticism. On the contrary, they said, they would appreciate if they are made aware of other different opinions at "in office" meetings with any comrade at the Ministry or Party organizations; just that these opinions should not be pronounced at official occasions.

C. Kim Il Sung is said to have concluded this complaint with an assurance that they had no issues with the work of c. Moskovskii or any other staff members of the

USSR Embassy.

While talking with us, c. Moskovskii offered a conjecture that, aside of any comments about c. Krukov's behavior, the target of this complaint may have been the reaction of c. Moskovskii and myself to the appearance of c. Bak Seungcheul at the conference of local titularies, for which c. Bak Seungcheul later apologized, saying that his presentation was not very well thought through. (addition of my record no. 0100/63).

At the conclusion of our conversation, c. Moskovskii added that the Romanian ambassador c. Bednarash told him that the Korean comrades asked even the PRB for delivery of 60,000 tones of wheat in exchange for 30,000 tones of rice.

Ambassador

(illegible)

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 28

[Source: AVPRF, fond 0102, opis 21, papka 106, delo 20, listy 14-27. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko]

Some New Aspects of Korean-Chinese Relations in the First Half of 1965

4 June 1965

At the end of 1964 and in the beginning of 1965 certain new aspects emerged in Korean-Chinese relations, which in general could be characterized as an attempt by the Korean leadership to abandon a one-sided orientation towards China.

This process began after the October CC CPSU Plenum, after the trip of the Korean delegation headed by comrade Kim Il to Moscow for the celebrations of the 47th anniversary of the October Revolution, and particularly after the February 1965 visit to Korea by the Soviet delegation headed by comrade A[leksei] N[ikolaevich] Kosygin.

As is known, in mid-1964 propaganda of the views of the Chinese leadership in the DPRK was in full swing. Despite all the efforts by the KWP leadership to present their propaganda as the manifestation of an "independent line" with regard to the parties of the international communist movement, as an aspiration to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp, in reality it [the Korean propaganda] was based on the so-called "general line" of the CCP, the anti-Marxist views of the Chinese leadership. All the attacks were directed against the CPSU, against its domestic and foreign policies.

The Chinese propaganda materials were widely distributed among the Korean populace. The Korean press published all major polemical editorials of the newspaper "Renmin Ribao" and the journal "Hongqi." [...]

Propaganda for the first time began to stress the thesis that the Korean-Chinese friendship became stronger as a result of the joint struggle against “modern revisionists,” that the basis for the friendship is the “ideological unity” of the revolutionary peoples.

However, by the end of 1964 the Korean leadership, apparently began to understand more clearly all the negative consequences of their orientation only towards China.

As a result of extensive contacts that took place between the KWP and the CCP in 1964, it became more obvious to the Korean leadership what kind of role the Chinese leaders prepared for them in their plans for splitting the international communist movement and creating a pro-Chinese bloc of parties with headquarters in Beijing. The Korean leadership, like the Chinese leaders, recognized the splitter groups as “independent Marxist-Leninist parties.” The leaders of these parties, when they arrive from Beijing to Pyongyang are received at the highest level. But at the same time the Korean leadership is beginning to understand that, despite the huge efforts of the Chinese leaders and their large financial aid, the splitter groups expose themselves more and more. The Korean leadership, seemingly, is becoming more and more convinced that “close contacts” with these groups do not add to the authority of the KWP in the international communist movement.

Also, the Korean leadership could not help but grow alarmed over the obvious great Han nationalism and political adventurism of the Chinese leaders, and the possibility of ending up alone with only the Chinese caused anxiety for the Koreans.

The Korean leadership also took into consideration the fact that the enormous propaganda campaign of the Chinese leaders [and their efforts] to put together a bloc inside the communist movement did not produce the expected results. Moreover, the rude attacks that the Chinese leaders continued to stage against the CPSU after the October CC CPSU Plenum put the CCP leadership into even greater isolation. Thus, in a conversation with the Sov[iet] Ambassador in May 1965, Kim Il Sung admitted that only the communist parties of Japan and Indonesia follow the Chinese leadership in supporting open polemics.

The one-sided orientation towards China led to the worsening of the DPRK’s political and economic ties with the USSR and the socialist countries of Europe. And this, in turn, became one of the reasons for the serious economic difficulties of the DPRK.

Among the reasons that forced the Korean leadership to make certain corrections in their policy in general and in the Korean-Chinese relations in particular, a very important one is the worsening situation in Vietnam in connection with the escalating American aggression, the possibility of serious conflicts along the 38th parallel of the Korean peninsula, and also the consequences of such course of development for the DPRK.

[...] while continuing to speak out in favor of strengthening Korean-Chinese friendship, the Korean leadership undertook measures to limit somewhat the possibilities for propagating the views of the Chinese leadership in the DPRK.

Once again the thesis of the KWP’s independent policy is being stressed with particular

emphasis.

At the same time, the independence thesis in the statements of the Korean leadership already sounds like an attempt to recognize some of their policy mistakes. In this connection, the explanation given by Kim Il Sung in a conversation with the Soviet ambassador on 3 May of this year appears particularly interesting. Complaining about the difficulties with which the DPRK is faced in the pursuit of its independent policy, Kim Il Sung said that one has to carry out this policy under the circumstances of open polemics between the CPSU and the CCP, taking into account that the DPRK borders two socialist countries – the USSR and China, and a capitalist country-Japan.

The Korean leadership took a different position, in comparison with the Chinese leaders, with regard to the March consultative meeting of fraternal parties. The leadership of the KWP, like the Chinese, did not agree to take part in the work of the meeting, but unlike the Chinese, did not attack the results of the work of that meeting.

Recently, the leaders of the KWP even began to make critical remarks addressed to the Chinese leadership, which continues to carry out its wild anti-Soviet campaign.

In a conversation with the Soviet ambassador on 3 May of this year, Kim Il Sung said: “we do not share the point of view of some people, who continue open polemics at the present time.”

In the statements of the Korean leaders, calls for strengthening the unity and cohesion of the international communist movement and the socialist camp now sound somewhat different. Whereas before, this unity was understood by the Korean leadership as the unconditional recognition of the Chinese “general line,” at the present time, in light of removal in Korean propaganda of the slogan of struggle against “modern revisionism,” the unity is based on the struggle against American imperialism and support of the national liberation movement. [...]

The Korean leadership in the past unequivocally supported China’s measures in putting together a race-based bloc and, with the help of the Chinese, tried to widen their connections in the liberated African countries. [...]

However, at the present time the Korean leadership does not always come out in support of the Chinese on the questions of Afro-Asian solidarity. They come out in favor of united actions by all anti-imperialist forces, including the USSR, all socialist countries, countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

On questions of attitudes toward the events in Vietnam, toward the support of the DRV in the struggle against American imperialism, the Korean leadership has now more skeptically appraised the actions of the Chinese leadership. The Korean leadership cannot help but understand that a further deterioration of the situation in Vietnam (what the Chinese leaders are trying to accomplish) may cause complications along the line of demarcation between the DPRK and South Korea. [...]

Judging from the statements of KWP leaders, the Chinese leaders disparage the Soviet Union’s

aid to the struggling people of Vietnam. “Some people are trying to downplay [Soviet] aid to Vietnam” – said Kim Il Sung in a conversation with the Soviet ambassador – “but we do not believe such propaganda.”

The Korean leadership instructed its delegation to the extraordinary session of the World Peace Council in Stockholm, which discussed measures to provide aid to Vietnam, not to support the Chinese draft resolution.

Recalling this episode, Kim Il Sung told the Soviet ambassador: “the Chinese wanted to impose their draft resolution on us, but we did not agree.” [...]

Continuing to follow the Chinese in speaking out against the “great power tendency of holding back independent, all-rounded development of other countries under the pretext of economic cooperation and the international division of labor,” seeing in economic cooperation the attempt of the “revisionists to put the economies of socialist countries under their control,” the Korean leadership in reality is taking steps to widen cooperation, using criticism in this case as a measure of “independence” and as a lever for political pressure in favor of more profitable conditions of economic aid. [...]

The questions of Korean-Chinese military cooperation, the extent of which is kept in strict secrecy by both countries, had, it seems, the decisive role in the rapprochement between the DPRK and China on other questions as well.

As events have shown, following the return of the DPRK military delegation [...] from Moscow, the Chinese leadership seized the opportunity and undertook to widen military cooperation with the DPRK.

One could make a judgment as to the extent of this cooperation by reference to many Chinese military delegations that visited the DPRK in the past 2 years, to joint Korean-Chinese maneuvers, to training of Korean military personnel in Chinese military academies, and to supplies of Chinese weapons.

All of this gave the leadership of the KWP an opportunity to become thoroughly acquainted with the condition of the defense industry of the PRC. [...]

At the same time, the Korean leadership continued to jealously watch Soviet military aid to Cuba, Indonesia, the DRV, and other countries. Visits of the military representatives of the DPRK to these countries in 1964 showed, it seems, the advantages of Soviet aid in comparison with Chinese, the deteriorating situation in Southeast Asia, insistent attempts of the USA to prompt the normalization of relations between Japan and South Korea, their efforts to put together a new aggressive bloc in the East, the volume of American military aid to the South Korean army – all of this could not help but make the Korean leadership (while still widening cooperation with China) look for pretexts for resumption of military aid from the USSR. [...]

New aspects that appeared in the recent period in Korean-Chinese relations have in general a positive character. They create objective preconditions for improvement of Soviet-Korean

relations on the state-to-state level. The intensity of this process is, evidently, in direct proportion to the volume of all kinds of aid to the DPRK from the Soviet Union.

At the same time, the Korean leadership, it seems, will continue to demonstrate their special friendship with China, will avoid doing anything that might influence the character and volume of aid they receive from the PRC.

FIRST SECRETARY OF THE EMBASSY OF THE USSR IN THE DPRK
(A. Borunkov)

ATTACHE OF THE EMBASSY OF THE USSR IN THE DPRK
(V. Gorovoi)

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 29

[Source: AQPPSH, MPP Korese, D 10, V. 1966. Translated for NKIDP by Enkel Daljani]

INFORMATION ON THE KOREAN WORKERS' PARTY

In 1925, the Communist Party of Korea was created. But due to the anti-Marxist activity of factionalists and opportunists, and the prosecution of the Japanese militarists, the party could not hold its ranks and in 1928 it ceased being an organized force.

The anti Japanese movement from 1930 up until the liberation of the country was not led by an organized party, but only by separate communists with comrade [General Secretary of the Korean Workers' Party (KWP)] Kim Il Sung at their helm. This is the reason why the liberation found the country without a leading party.

In October 1945, in the favorable conditions that were created after the liberation of the country, the Orgburo of the North Korean Communist Party was created. This comprises the founding of the Korean Workers' Party.

The factionalist groups that brought about the destruction of the party in 1928 reappeared again later, especially after the end of the war in 1953. At the Plenum of April 1955, comrade Kim Il Sung, while speaking about the possibility of the rebirth of factionalist elements and groups, showed that one of the facilitators for the reappearance of such a possibility is the lack of a working class party for a long time until the liberation of the country, and another reason was the arrival from abroad – from the Soviet Union, China, and the southern part of the country – of various people, which was exploited by the factional elements for their own factional intentions. These people, who after liberation filled important position within the party, became carriers of dogmatism. In the speech that comrade Kim Il Sung delivered to propaganda and agitation

workers in December of 1955 about the liquidation of dogmatism and formalism in Marxist ideological work, he said that “the people who came from the Soviet Union wanted to develop the ideological work in the military according to the Soviet method, while those that had come from China wanted it based on the Chinese [method].” The signs of dogmatism have also appeared in other sectors of life, especially during the period of the collectivization of agriculture, etc.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers’ Party that was held in August of 1956 and the Party Conference in March of 1958 uncovered and unmasked a group of anti-party factionalists who, it is said, had revisionist points of view and links to the Soviet revisionists. Notable among them are Bak Jeongae, Nam Il, etc. officials in the leadership who had links to this matter. They were left in the leadership afterwards, but only in governmental positions and not in important managerial posts.

With the birth and development of the divergences at the heart of the communist movement, the Korean Workers’ Party commenced changing its positions. It has tried to keep a neutral position, justifying this through the issue of the division of Korea and the need for her reunification. In other words, on this issue, it has proceeded based on narrow national interests. The seemingly uncompromising anti-revisionist stance that it kept for some time, especially during 1963 and 1964, was more a product of the pressure exerted on it by the revisionists that wanted to force it to openly join their ranks, than it was of a true Marxist – Leninist position. In fact, this position can be better described as simply an anti-Khrushchevian position.

At the beginning of 1962, a series of articles by Lenin on the struggle against revisionism and opportunism were published in the Korean press. Through this, they were trying to achieve several specific objectives: First, they were trying to prepare the masses within the country for any eventuality that could happen with the revisionists; secondly, they were trying to exert some pressure on the revisionists that, arguably, they were ready to proclaim their opposition to them; and thirdly, to show that they were in the ranks of those parties that were fighting revisionism. In the public speeches of the leaders as well as in other important articles, both revisionism and dogmatism were considered as falling in the same category. Their famous slogan read, “Fight against revisionism and dogmatism for the preservation of the purity of Marxism – Leninism.”

In 1962, it appeared that the stance against revisionism was becoming stricter. This continued until before the removal of N. Khrushchev. During this time, they published around 12 articles on important issues of the time in which they criticized the activities of the modern revisionists, but without mentioning any names.

If one looks at this process within the frame of the relations with N. Khrushchev, it is apparent that it has progressed continually depending on the Koreans’ aggravations or softening of relations with him.

The Korean comrades, in various talks, have declared that they are at war with modern revisionism and they have held that their position toward N. Khrushchev has always been correct. According to them, the only difference between the Albanian Party of Labor and the

Korean Workers' Party has been the methods used for the waging of this war, which differ from the specific situation of each country, but which are the same at the principle level.

After the softening of relations with the Soviet revisionists, they started replacing the phrase "modern revisionism" with the word "revisionism." They started once again placing revisionism and dogmatism in the same category and, sometimes, the latter started receiving a higher importance and appearing as worse. Here are some examples:

1. In the communiqué of the Plenum of the CC of the Korean Workers' Party published on June 2, 1965 in the newspaper "Rodong Sinmun," it is said that, "... the resolute struggle of our party against dogmatism and revisionism for the preservation of the purity of Marxism – Leninism ... became a vital guarantee ..."
2. In another article titled "The Korean Revolution and the Idea of the Antecedence of Our Party," published on September 20, 1965, dogmatism is mentioned ten times, while revisionism is mentioned only two times.
3. In the cover article dedicated to the 20th anniversary of the party, published on October 5, 1965 in the party magazine "Kulloja," revisionism is never mentioned, but dogmatism and servility are denounced.

In the report that comrade Kim Il Sung presented at a conference of the Korean Workers' Party, which was held at the beginning of October, the position of the Korean comrades on many issues is presented:

1) On the position to imperialism

The position of every communist and workers' party in the present situation is valued on a grand scale by the position it holds against American imperialism. ... The socialist countries, even when they keep diplomatic relations with the imperialists, must never cease their struggle or weaken it as a result. ... It is also a mistake to only scream out against imperialism instead of actually taking steps to stop its aggression. In particular, each should not cause difficulties for the anti-imperialist forces in taking common practical measures to deliver blows to the American imperialist aggressors.

2) On the Vietnamese issue

The position on the issue of Vietnam is the trial by fire that makes the distinction between a revolutionary position and an opportunistic one, between proletarian internationalism and nationalistic egoism [...] The fraternal parties are not allowed to simply engage in polemics over the Vietnam issue [...] only the Vietnamese Workers' Party can and must be the one to solve the Vietnamese issue [...] As to the assistance that is given to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by the fraternal countries [...] there can be no one else, besides the Vietnamese Workers' Party, who can draw the correct conclusions from it and the fraternal parties must pay attention to these conclusions. [...] We are prepared to send our volunteers there ... whenever this is requested by the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

3) On the unity of action

It is important that a unified anti-imperialist course of action on an international scale and a unified anti-imperialist front is achieved. [...] This is the most pressing issue before the international communist movement. This would, at the same time, assure the conditions for the gradual elimination of the divergences between the fraternal parties and for the reintroduction of the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement. [...] Keeping this in mind, we think that, despite the existence of the divergences in relation to some issues, there exists a starting point for a unified anti-imperialist course of action for withstanding the American imperialist aggression against Vietnam and for assisting the Vietnamese people.

The refusal of the achievement of a unified anti-imperialist course of action does not help the true defense of Marxism–Leninism against revisionism and in the strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp [...] and it cannot be considered a position that opposes American imperialism and assists the struggle of the Vietnamese people. [...] The sending of volunteers to Vietnam by the socialist countries will be the first step toward the achievement of a unified course of action against imperialism.

4) On the right and “left” opportunism

For as long as imperialism continues to exist and the class struggle persists, there is room for the birth of both the right and the “left” opportunism. We must fight in two fronts against both the right and the “left” opportunism.

Modern revisionism still remains a great threat to the international communist movement. It finds its support above all in the weakening of the struggle against imperialism and in the passive stance toward the revolutionary struggle of the peoples.

We must fight “left” opportunism as well as modern revisionism. “Left” opportunism does not take into account the changed reality of the present and dogmatically recites singular theses of Marxism–Leninism, while leading the peoples into extremist actions under super-revolutionary slogans.

5) On the solving of the divergences

The divergences between the parties must not be turned into organizational schisms, but must be solved in every situation through the use of ideological struggle, with the desire for unity as a starting point.

It is our party’s opinion that should there be divergences, one should not hasten to reach conclusions about the fraternal parties or the fraternal countries, but they should be reached through careful reasoning and the passage of time. [...] No one should make dramatic or skewed evaluations about any fraternal countries or fraternal parties. [...] Our

opinion is that a very mature position should be taken in the evaluation of the leadership of a fraternal country or party.

[...] We must gradually narrow down the divergences and create an atmosphere that contributes to continued contacts. And when the sufficient conditions are finally created, the fraternal parties could hold a conference and discuss the issues of the unified anti-imperialist course of action in a concrete manner.

6) On the relations between parties

The respect for privacy is a precursory and fundamental condition for the unity and cooperation between fraternal parties. [...] There does not exist a single international organization within the international communist movement that can create a unified direction for the activity of the parties of all the countries. After the dissolution of the Third International there is no “center” or “side” in the international communist movement anymore. That is why it is impossible that the “center” of the revolution be transferred from one country to another. It is impossible for a country to become “the center of the world revolution” or for a party to become “the leader party” of the international communist movement.

But, until now, there have been cases in the international communist movement when some parties have imposed their points of view, their courses of action on other parties, or have exerted pressure on the latter and have interfered in their internal affairs because they have not agreed with them.

* * *

A reorganization of the leadership organs of the party was undertaken at the Party Conference.

After the 4th Congress of the Party, which was held in September 1961, the Politburo had 11 members and 4 candidates. The chairman of the Korean Workers' Party CC was comrade Kim Il Sung, and there were 4 Vice Chairmen as well. In June 1964 four more candidates to the Politburo were also elected.

During 1965 it appears that 2 members of the Politburo (which had changed its name to the Political Committee) were expelled from the Politburo, of which one was a Vice Chairman of the CC of the Party, Kim Changman, and the other was a candidate to the Politburo, former rector of Kim Il Sung University, and chairman of the China–Korea Friendship Council. But he was removed from the latter post around the end of 1964.

Now, within the Political Committee, which is comprised of 14 members and candidates, there has also been created a Presidium comprised of 6 members.

There has been a change in the titles of the Chairman and the Vice Chairmen of the CC of the party. Now there is one General Secretary of the CC of the Korean Workers' Party, who is

comrade Kim Il Sung, and 10 Secretaries of the CC, who all together comprise the Secretariat of the CC of the party.

Aside from those expelled previously, 6 more people from the previous leadership have not been appointed to these posts, among which are Bak Jeongae and Nam Il.

As for Korea's relations with the Soviet Union, starting since the appearance of the disagreements in the midst of the international communist movement after the 22nd Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union and continuing today, they have developed in a sort of up and down motion. There was a period when they were chilly (1963 – 1964), but after N. Khrushchev was deposed, a turn toward amelioration commenced.

The Koreans have consistently decided to not sever their relations with the Soviet Union. In the goodbye meeting that comrade Hasan Alimerko had with comrade Kim Il Sung at the end of 1962, he had said that “due to the fact that we have to face the imperialism of the USA, we want to maintain and do not want to sever the relations with the Soviet Union at the governmental and party level, because should the war restart, we will fight alongside the Soviet Union, and especially alongside the People's Republic of China.” Two months later, in the meeting that he had with comrade Siri Çarçani, comrade Kim Il Sung said, “You fought against N. Khrushchev; you delivered your blows and have passed the hardest phase. Now we are preparing to fight N. Khrushchev. For us, the hardest part will come from now on.”

The events that took place after this period showed that the fight never took place. At most, this was more or less a period of a chill in the relations between the Korean Workers' Party and the Soviet revisionists. As a result, the Korean press rarely gave any information on the Soviet Union, while the exchanges in different fields fell to a minimum. But the fact is that this chill in the relations was not due to principles, because during this time the Korean Workers' Party did not wage any open struggle in the ideological, political, or organizational sense against the revisionists and N. Khrushchev. The following facts attest to this:

- 1) People like Bak Jeongae and Nam Il, who were known to be N. Khrushchev's people, were allowed to remain in the Politburo.
- 2) In Korea there were still some Soviet specialists, though in small numbers, despite the fact that the Koreans were saying they, specifically, were engaging in sabotage.
- 3) Despite the fact that the volume of relations and work between the two countries had decreased during this time, the Soviet embassy in Pyongyang kept a very large number of employees, of which 20 were diplomats.

The removal of N. Khrushchev was received and popularized by the Korean comrades as the beginning of the possible changes within the Soviet Union, because, allegedly, signs of a very correct course, of an anti-imperialist course, etc. could be seen in the new Soviet leaders. It was not by chance that comrade Kim Il Sung said to our ambassador in Pyongyang on the occasion of November 29, 1964 that “the revisionists (of other countries) are exerting pressure to the Soviet Union to follow the course of N. Khrushchev.” With this he was trying to convey that the new Soviet leadership was not revisionist.

This position was followed later by continuous initiatives by the Koreans for a further closeness with the Soviet Union. On the occasion of the holiday on November 7, 1964, a delegation of the party and government led by comrade Kim Il, Vice Chairman of the CC and the First Deputy of the Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers, went to the Soviet Union. Despite the fact that no preparations had been made in Korea on the occasion of November 7, two days before it, measures were taken and all strings were pulled that it be celebrated solemnly. In the daily Korean press and in the public speeches the mentioning of the phrase “modern revisionism” started to gradually be removed and information about the Soviet Union, as well as the publishing of the abstracts of the speeches by the Soviet leaders, started to increase.

During the period 1965–1966, two important delegations led by Kosygin and Shelepin went to Korea. At the same time, the exchange of delegations of other levels has become even more frequent.

The Korean Workers’ Party sent to the 23rd Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union a delegation headed by comrade Choe Yonggeon, Vice Chairman of the CC of the party. In the meeting that the Chinese ambassador had with comrade Bak Geumcheol, Vice Chairman of the CC of the Korean Workers’ Party, to present to him the copy of the letter that the CP of China sent to the Soviets, through which they refused their invitation to take part in the Congress, comrade Bak Geumcheol told him that “the Korean Workers’ Party, in the struggle against revisionism, has at its essence a similar position with the CP of China. The only difference is the approach, which is determined by the specific situation of each party. This is related to the needs of the struggle for the reunification of Korea...” Nevertheless, the greeting that the delegation delivered to the Congress was cool. The Korean press has given regular updates on the development of the Congress’s proceedings. The newspaper “Rodong Sinmun” published one page from the report by Brezhnev and a part of the report by Kosygin.

Last year, an important military delegation went to the Soviet Union where it concluded an agreement on the military assistance that the Soviet Union agreed to give to Korea. According to the conversation that Siri Çarçani had with the Chinese ambassador in May of this year, relations between Korea and the Soviet Union are widening rapidly; there is an exchange of declared and undeclared delegations. The armaments that the Soviet Union is giving to Korea are not transported through China, but by a different route. In June of this year, a three year (1967 – 1970) trade agreement between the two countries was concluded. According to the published communiqué the circulation of the goods for this period will increase immensely. The Soviet Union, amongst other things, will also assist Korea on the construction of a petrol refinery. It is quite likely that this is the refinery, foreseen in the 7 year plan, with a capacity of 2 million tons of petrol and which from 1967 would refine 1 million tons of petrol. Until now, the work for its construction has yet to start. It seems that after the cooling of the relations, the Soviets had withdrawn from this.

The relations of the Koreans with the other revisionist countries, which had also receded previously, are now improving continually. This is apparent from the scale of exchanges in many fields, especially in the economic and cultural fields. Their best relations are with the Romanians and the Cubans. This is also apparent in the similarity of the positions they have in many

different important issues. In an interview that the Korean ambassador gave in Havana before his departure, he said, “The relations between Korea and Cuba are at their highest. This is thanks to the correct positions of both parties.” He delivered many praises to Castro, presenting him as an exceptional leader. A symposium of Fidel Castro’s speeches of the period of 1963–1965 has been published in the Korean language.

In the report that comrade Kim Il Sung gave at the beginning of October at the Party conference, while speaking about the Cuban Revolution, amongst other things, he said “the Communist Party of Cuba knows the Cuban issues better than anyone else and it is the CP of Cuba, and no one else, who can create the correct position for dealing with the practical conditions in Cuba. [...] There should be no other attempts at exerting pressure on the CP of Cuba and for the division of the revolutionary forces in Latin America.”

The relations with the Communist Party of Japan have been and remain good. Both sides support each other’s positions. This is apparent, amongst other things, also in the simultaneous publishing of various important materials. In the article of the newspaper “Rodong Sinmun,” dated August 12, 1966, it is written, “We have fully supported and continue to support the correct position of the CP of Japan, which, by taking a stance against the interference in internal affairs and by insistently defending independence, leads with correctness the revolutionary movement in its country and gives a contribution to the issue of solidarity within the international communist movement.”

On the issue of the relations between the Korean Workers’ Party and the CP of China, it must be noted that during the period of 1963–1964 they were developing and increasing. This was apparent in the widening and strengthening of economic, cultural, and military cooperation between the two countries, and in the frequent exchange of delegations of all fields, etc.

But even in these conditions it seems that the relations were not what they appeared on all issues and that there have been some reservations:

- 1) The Korean Foreign Affairs Minister himself told comrade Siri Çarçani that, “[...] we have not carried out or supported the theses of the 20th Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union even at a time when the Chinese comrades had yet to come out against them.”
- 2) On the conversations that comrade Liu Shaoqi has had with the Korean leadership on the occasion of his visit to Korea in September 1963, the Chinese ambassador said that “in the conversations and the meetings we have had with comrades in the Korean leadership, our points of view on the major issues are in full unity,” leading us to believe that there have also been opposing points of view on other issues.
- 3) The Koreans have shown much reservation on the publishing of Chinese articles. They have only published one of them. The others are broadcast in the bulletins of the telegraphic agency.
- 4) The Koreans have done very little to mention and publicize the Chinese Peoples Volunteers that fought in Korea.

After the amelioration of the relations between the Koreans and the Soviets, there seems to be a deterioration of the ones between the Koreans and the Chinese. This could be gradually seen in the exchange of the delegations in all the fields. It is conceivable that an issue that has served as a pretext and has hastened the cooling of the relations has been the fact that the Koreans have asked for the secret of the atomic bomb from the Chinese.

There is now indication that the Korean comrades are taking these relations toward further cooling:

- 1) In the university circles of Pyongyang, students and the professors circulate anti-Chinese and pro-Soviet slogans. They are saying that assistance to Vietnam is being hindered by the Chinese, etc.
- 2) The Chinese ambassador has told comrade Siri Çarçani that the Koreans are increasing their anti-Chinese, anti-Albanian, and anti-communist activities with the pretext that the Chinese are following an incorrect course and are also trying to impose this course on the Koreans. The slander that the Western press agencies are spewing against China and Albania is being published in their internal bulletins and is then commented by them as being true. The members of the Korean Workers' Party of Chinese ethnicity are being expelled from the party for no apparent reason.
- 3) In the article, "Protecting Our Independence," published in the main newspaper "Rodong Sinmun" on August 12, 1966, while speaking about the intervention of the great powers in their internal affairs in support of the factionalists, the Koreans make open allusion to the Chinese as well. In another article about the anti-revolutionary theories of the "leftist" opportunists published around the middle of September, they take an openly oppositional stance against the Cultural Revolution under development in China today. On this issue, in his speech at the Party Conference, comrade Kim Il Sung also said, "...left" opportunism does not take into account the changed reality of the present and dogmatically recites singular theses of Marxism-Leninism, while leading the people into extremist actions under super-revolutionary slogans."

Our relations with Korea have been relatively good. In every case of a meeting between our comrades and the Korean leaders, they have supported the position of the APL in its struggle against the modern revisionism. "We know that the Albanian people, under the leadership of the party with comrade Enver Hoxha at its helm," declared comrade Kim Il Sung at a meeting with our ambassador in December of 1962, "fights bravely against the capitalist and revisionist enemy..." Furthermore, Comrade Bak Geumcheol, Vice Chairman of the CC of the Korean Workers' Party, in a conversation he had with comrade Aranit Çela when he went for a vacation in Korea on October 1963, said that "We are in full agreement with the whole position of the APL." He reiterated that as to the method of the struggle against revisionism, there may be differences between us according to the differing conditions of one country or the other. He said that, "for example, the APL method of the struggle differs from that of the Korean Workers' Party, but the main thing is that on all the primary issues we have a unified stance."

Despite these things they have said, the Koreans have had and continue to have reservations toward our party. This is apparent in the concrete stance and relations that they have kept with us. When the APL was attacked at the 22nd Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union, they did not rise in its defense, even though comrade Kim Il Sung said to comrade Hasan Alimerko that “when they (the Soviets) openly attacked Albania, we were not in solidarity with them.”

The Korean comrades have not published the Soviets’ materials where they attack our country. For this reason they also censured the Moscow Radio program that was broadcast through Radio Pyongyang. At the same time they also censured the distribution of our ideological brochures in Korea. So, since the time when it seemed that relations between us were better, they had us equated with the revisionists.

No important article of the “Voice of the People” [APL newspaper] has ever been published in the Korean press. Only during 1963 and partly during 1964, when the relations with the Soviets were cool, were some of these articles being published in the bulletins of the telegraphic agencies. During this period, on the occasion of our anniversaries, there were articles written about Albania, which would mainly talk about our successes in the economic field. They would also point out the struggle of the APL against the modern revisionism.

When the Korean press has published articles where the revisionist and antisocialist positions and the signs big-power chauvinism toward some other countries have been criticized, it has never spoken openly about these positions toward Albania, but always with allusions.

The process of the position of the Koreans toward our country has in general developed depending on their relations with the revisionists. Though they always try to leave the impression that their position has not changed, this has been apparent in many cases.

- 1) In the past, in the order of publishing telegrams – an order, which in the protocol custom of the country is an indication of the level of the relations—we used to occupy the fourth place and now have been lowered down to eighth place.
- 2) Presently, in public speeches or in published articles where the issue of the struggle against revisionism is mentioned, the struggle of the APL is either completely removed from mention or it is replaced with a watered down version.
- 3) From the information we have from some of our missions, such as the ones in China, Cuba, Warsaw, etc. the comrades of the Korean missions in these places keep a cool stance toward the comrades of our missions.
- 4) According to the information that we are getting from our embassy in Pyongyang, a Korean student told one of our students that she had been criticized for not having learned one word of Albanian. She also told her that she had been instructed to spy on what the Albanians were doing.

During the period of 1963–1964 four comrades went to vacation in Korea and four Korean comrades came to our country. During the period of 1965 to 1966 we did not extend any invitations and the Koreans did not extend any either.

During the present year we have sent to the Korean Workers' Party CC a copy of the letter we sent to the Polish, as well as the open letter of the APL CC.

Our press has written during the past as well as this year several editorial and opinion articles on various issues in support of the DPR of Korea. We have also published a declaration of the Government of the Peoples' Republic of Albania that denounces the ratification of the Japanese-South Korean Treaty.

October 1966

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DOCUMENT No. 30

[Source: AVPRF, f. 0102, op. 22, p. 109, d. 22, pp. 38-49. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko and translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg].

Soviet Embassy in the DPRK
2 December 1966
N° 312

SECRET
Copy N° 2

Memorandum on Sino-Korean Relations in 1966

Sino-Korean Relations have recently undergone some significant changes [...].

The period of close Sino-Korean rapprochement did not lead to the strengthening of the authority of the KWP in the international Communist movement. The Chinese government was not able to give significant aid to the DPRK in the international arena [...].

[...] The October (1964) CPSU CC plenum opened up prospects to the Korean leadership to restore friendly relations with the Soviet Union [...].

The restoration of ties between the DPRK and the Soviet Union...provoked dissatisfaction on the part of Beijing. Attempts were made by the Chinese leaders to pressure the Korean leadership. This forced it to make changes to relations with China. They have become increasingly cooler during the last year and a half. [...].

(Points of view of Sino-Korean relations[]). The report of Kim Il Sung at the KWP conference (October 1966) was characterized by displaying the process of liberating the Korean leadership from some mistaken, pro-Chinese views...and a return to more correct positions on such issues as the role of the world socialist system in the development of the revolutionary process and ways for people to struggle against the aggression of American imperialism.

It is interesting to compare two documents: the article, "They Defended the Socialist Camp" (11/1963) and Kim Il Sung's report at the KWP conference (10/1966). When this is done the evident difference in the position of the Korean leadership which has occurred in three years becomes especially clear.

In 11/1963 in the article, "They Defended the Socialist Camp" (the article was allegedly corrected by Kim Il Sung personally), the Korean leadership broadly supported the policy of the Chinese leaders. The article was directed against the CPSU and the decisions of the XX and XXII Congresses of our Party from beginning to end and contained crude fabrications and anti-Soviet slander.

In particular, the article said, "Some people, passing themselves off as Communists, together with the imperialists unjustly condemn and slander the CCP and PRC and frantically attack them. This is a shameful and very dangerous matter."

In a report at the KWP conference in October 1966, Kim Il Sung criticized the many anti-Marxist attitudes of the Chinese leaders. This was the first public statement of KWP leaders against the policy of the Chinese ruling group. The report had critical allusions to the CPSU, silently overlooking many important issues (the defense of peace, disarmament, the KWP attitude toward the proposal convene an international conference of fraternal Parties). However, the report had an anti-Chinese orientation on the whole.

What were the primary reasons that caused the Korean leadership to change its attitude toward the ruling group of China?

1. As events progressed in Vietnam, the KWP leadership became increasingly convinced that the Chinese ruling group was hiding behind high-sounding phrases about the battle against imperialism, but is in fact being obstructive in this battle. Meetings and conversations between Soviet leaders and Kim Il Sung, the participation of the KWP in the work of the XIII [SIC] CPSU Party Congress, and the practical measures by the CPSU and Soviet government to give comprehensive assistance to the Vietnamese people have had great importance in this. The desire of Mao Zedong and his circle to use the Vietnamese situation for their own great power national purposes became increasingly clear to the Korean leadership.

The possibility of military provocations against the DPRK from American and South Korean authorities not being excluded, the Korean leaders now regard doubtfully previous Chinese assurances that China "will always share both sorrow and joy" with the Korean people.

2. The Korean leadership fears that in the event the Chinese leaders carry out plans for an organizational and political split in the international Communist movement and the socialist camp, it will end up alone with the Chinese leaders, in a campaign with pro-Chinese splitters. This would undermine the prestige of the KWP and increase the pressure on its leaders from the Chinese leaders.

3. The failure of Chinese leaders in domestic and foreign policy exerted a great sobering influence on the Korean leadership. In a conversation with the Soviet Ambassador in November

of this year as confirmation of the left opportunism of the Chinese leaders Kim Il Sung spoke of their wavering from one extreme to the other in questions of building Communism in China. [...]

As the KWP conference showed, on the question of creating a united anti-imperialist front, the Korean leadership acted in defiance of the opinion of the Chinese leaders. The evolution of the views of the KWP leadership on the actions of the Chinese leaders has become more noticeable.

As the situation in Vietnam became more complicated, at the beginning of 1966, the Korean leaders spoke of their disagreement with the positions of the ruling group of China on the issue of Vietnam only in confidential conversations. In October 1966 in a report to a Party conference, Kim Il Sung was obviously talking to the Chinese leaders about those who "just talk about being against American imperialism but in fact do not take any specific steps to curb aggression."

In the words of Kim Il Sung, the KWP leadership has unsuccessfully tried to use the visit of a Japanese CP delegation to China and the DPRK headed by Miyamoto to convince the Chinese leaders of the necessity of creating a united anti-imperialist front. [...]

The Korean leaders condemn the Chinese leaders for their big-power chauvinism, dogmatism, and "left" opportunism. According to statements of the Korean comrades, the Chinese do not take changed reality into account, dogmatically repeat individual Marxist-Leninist positions, and drive people to extreme actions under [illegible] and revolutionary slogans.

The Korean leadership is closely following events associated with the conduct of the so-called "Cultural Revolution" in China. In a conversation with the Soviet Ambassador in November of this year, Kim Il Sung said, "The Chinese want to conduct a cultural revolution at one stroke. Is this not an example of left opportunism on the part of the CPC and its leaders?"

Explanations were given in Korean press articles, speeches by Kim Il Sung at Party conferences, and by Kim Il at the VI session of the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly that a genuine cultural revolution is a long and complex process requiring an increase in the cultural and overall educational level of the entire people. Speaking of the forms and methods of conducting a cultural revolution in the DPRK, Kim Il, in particular, stressed in [his] report at the VI session of the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly in November of this year that the KWP "opposes any subjective haste which contradicts the principles of Marxism-Leninism" and is against "a nihilistic attitude toward national cultural heritage."

[...] Soon after the start of the "Cultural Revolution" in China the frequency band on which Chinese radio was broadcast in Korean was changed at the initiative of the Korean comrades. The rebroadcast hours were changed and they became less convenient for listeners. [...]

A sharp rebuke was given by the Korean leadership about accusations from the CCP and APL [Albanian Party of Labor] that the KWP allegedly "is fencesitting." In a report to a KWP conference, Kim Il Sung said, "Those who slander us are themselves sitting on a wobbly fence."

[...] DPRK economic ties with China are exerting a great influence on the position of the Korean leadership and the policy it pursues.

The Korean leadership has been forced to take into account the possible economic sanctions to which the Chinese leaders might resort and which would bring serious economic consequences to the DPRK.

[...] The military doctrine of the Korean leadership was based on Chinese idea of so-called "people's war" until recently. The importance of modern types of weapons, including nuclear [weapons] and missiles, was belittled, and the military economic potential of the main enemy, the United States and its allies, was not taken into consideration.

At the present time, the Korean comrades are making certain changes in their attitudes toward questions of the strategy and tactics of waging war and training troops.

The delivery of Soviet military equipment has played a great role in this. Based on the observations of Soviet military specialists, the Korean military is beginning to understand its importance in modern warfare during the process of training to master the new equipment.

This is one of the main reasons for sending Korean servicemen to train in the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, all the Korean servicemen studying in Chinese military schools are being recalled. There is information that the Chinese leadership has allegedly repeatedly suggested to the Koreans that they again send their military specialists for training but the Korean leadership is refraining from this.

Some frictions have also appeared between Korea and China in connection with the sending of Korean military volunteers to Vietnam (right now this is a group of more than 100 men). According to unofficial information, Chinese leaders have convinced the Korean leadership that the best assistance to Vietnam from the DPRK is to unleash military operations against the Americans on the Korean peninsula. The Chinese leadership has promised to give comprehensive assistance to the DPRK for the sake of this. The Korean comrades have rejected this option in spite of pressure from the Chinese, promoting their own counterplan-sending volunteers to Vietnam.

[...] The Korean leadership will evidently try and continue to demonstrate their "independence" in approaching a solution to the important problems of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement.

It might evidently be viewed as a concession to the Chinese to consider the position of the Korean leadership with regard to Yugoslavia and India. Although the Koreans are also not criticizing the Soviet government right now for expanding Soviet-Indian cooperation, however as before they lay the blame for complications on the Indo-Chinese border to the "reactionary forces of India."

Meanwhile, in a conversation with the Soviet Ambassador, Kim Il Sung said, "Instead of finding a correct solution to this conflict the Chinese have complicated it and thereby slowed the progress of the revolution not only in India but also in all of Asia"...

The Korean leadership views the immediate prospects for achieving unity in the socialist camp and the international Communist movement skeptically. Knowing the Chinese leaders well, the Korean leadership evidently thinks that no criticism, either open or disguised, will have an effect on them. The Korean leadership sees the solution to the situation which has developed, as Kim Il Sung said in a conversation with the Soviet Ambassador, "leave the Chinese alone," then "they will fight among themselves and find the correct solution."

First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy to the DPRK
(A. Borunkov)

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DOCUMENT No. 31

[Source: AVPRF, f. 0102, op. 22, p. 109, d. 22, pp. 50-56. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko and translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg]

30 December 1966 Memorandum of the Soviet Embassy in the DPRK (A. Borunkov) about Embassy measures against Chinese Anti-Soviet Propaganda in the DPRK

"The Korean leadership has recently taken a number of steps to keep the country's population from being influenced by Chinese propaganda. Sino-Korean cultural exchanges have been reduced to zero. The exchanges of other delegations have been sharply reduced. Almost no materials from China are published in the Korean press. The 30-minute Korean language program of news from China on the radio rebroadcasting network has been halted.

The main feature of the anti-Chinese propaganda in the DPRK is that it is done in a restricted manner and evidently primarily among cadres. The Korean leaders do not permit open criticism of events in China,"

"The impression is formed from observations by Embassy officials that it is not recommend for officials of Korean institutions who have contact with members of the diplomatic corps to enter into conversations with foreigners on the topic of Sino-Korean relations and events in China. So far, only Cde. Kim Il Sung has discussed the actions of the Chinese leaders in conversations with the Ambassador."

"The Korean leadership, on the one hand, refrains from open condemnation of the actions of the Chinese ruling group and, on the other, does not permit the Soviet Embassy in Pyongyang to wage propaganda denouncing Mao Zedong and his group."

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 32

[Source: MOL, XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1967, 61. doboz, 1, 001200/1967. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Balázs Szalontai]

Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, 22 January 1967.

As a result of the most recent developments of the events in China under the aegis of the „Cultural Revolution,” new phenomena related to the Korean-Chinese relationship have recently surfaced. We would like to summarize the information we have about the aforesaid issues in the following:

1) On the situation of the Koreans living in China

According to the information we received from the Cuban ambassador, the situation of the Koreans living in China has worsened in the course of the „Cultural Revolution.” (An official of the Consular Department of the [North Korean] F[oreign] M[inistry] recently told us that they kept a record of approx. 1 million Koreans living in China, most of whom lived in Manchuria.) Referring to a Korean source, Comrade Vigoa stated that the „Red Guards” forced individuals of Korean nationality as well to participate in their actions, to join in the organization of mass meetings, and so on. This naturally elicits aversion and dissatisfaction from the great majority of Koreans and the leadership of the DPRK respectively. The rights of the people of Korean nationality, such as the right of assembly, are violated by some measures that were taken during the „Cultural Revolution.” These phenomena aggravate the tensions that exists in the Korean-Chinese relationship. The Koreans, on their part, do their best to avoid an open confrontation with the Chinese leadership, the Korean comrades strive not to give [the Chinese] an opportunity to aggravate the situation, which is tense anyway, even further. This is why the Korean comrades preferred to criticize the Chinese events in an indirect way, the Cuban ambassador said, for otherwise the DPRK would face serious consequences. Nowadays the Korean comrades face an extremely difficult situation because of neighboring China. [Cuban Ambassador] Comrade Vigoa cited as an example the fact that the Korean daily press did not report on the „Cultural Revolution,” because [such news] should be accompanied by open criticism, which was also impossible in the present situation.

2) As I already mentioned, the daily press does not report on the Chinese events, but, in accordance with previous practice, it continues publishing articles that indirectly criticize the Chinese line. Lately, the January 19th copy of *Nodong Sinmun* published a long theoretical article entitled „The Fostering of National Cultural Heritage and the Education for Socialist Patriotism” by Doctor of Philology Kim Hamyeong, which—without directly referring to China—also challenged well-known Chinese propositions. It is a remarkable new phenomenon that the KCNA’s confidential bulletin—which had not reported on the „Cultural Revolution” until recently—lately published the reports of two Western news agencies, which dealt with the movement of the „Red Guards.”

It is also related to the aforesaid issues that the number of the news that the central dailies publish about China is still minimal [...].

3) On the exchange of New Year greetings between the Korean and Chinese leaders

It is interesting to inspect the Korean communiqué issued about the exchange of New Year greetings cards between the Korean and Chinese leaders, which reads as follows: „On the occasion of the 1967 New Year, Comrade Kim Il Sung exchanged greetings cards with Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai of the People’s Republic of China. In addition, Comrade Choe Yonggeon exchanged cards with [Chairman of the National People’s Congress] Comrades Zhu De and Zhou Enlai of the People’s Republic of China.” To our knowledge, the Korean press has not published any similarly worded communiqué, which did not contain the rank and function of the partner, in the years past. (It is remarkable that the Korean leaders did not exchange cards with [Chairman of the People’s Republic of China] Liu Shaoqi!)

The exchange of telegrams of New Year greetings between the Korean and Albanian leaders is also indicative of Korean-Chinese relations, that is, *in an indirect way* [emphasis in the original]: while the Albanian telegram of last year sent the warmest fraternal greetings to the Korean leaders and the fraternal Korean people in the name of the Albanian Party of Labor as well, in the one of this year it was the Albanian people and the signatories of the telegram in whose name the greetings were sent to the addressees and the Korean people. The 1966 Albanian telegram of New Year greetings makes mention of the development of the *indissoluble* [emphasis in the original] friendship between the two peoples, whereas the one of this year already speaks [only] about the faith in the development of the friendly contact between the two peoples, without using the epithet „indissoluble.”

[...]

4) According to the information we received from our embassy to Beijing, the Chinese have concentrated troops on the Chinese-Korean border, the concrete aim of which is unknown to us for the time being.

5) During conversations, the Korean comrades usually do not refer to the Korean-Chinese relationship; they evade evaluating the events related to China. Despite that, a few Korean comrades who were competent [in international relations] did make comments that openly or indirectly criticized the Chinese line. On an occasion an official of the F[oreign] M[inistry] told us at our embassy that „...we hope that sooner or later China will overcome the present difficulties through its own efforts, but it is a fact that this issue causes problems to *every* [emphasis in the original] socialist country, the imperialists do their best to take advantage of it ... Otherwise Comrade Kim Il Sung gave an answer to China in the account he gave at the party conference, he declared that we did not sit on anyone’s stool.”

In an obvious reference to China, a competent official of the Sports Commission said that now the DPRK was in a situation similar to that of a little child who „began to see clearly,” rejected his earlier isolation, and sought contacts.

6) Finally, I mention that on the basis of our visit in a few bookstores, it is our impression that the works of Mao Zedong, which had a very wide circulation before, have disappeared from the stores.

[...]

István Kádás
(ambassador)

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 33

[Source: AVPRF, f. 0102, op. 23, p. 112, d. 24, pp. 5-12. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko and translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg.]

7 March 1967 DVO [Far East Department] Memorandum about Sino-Korean Relations

Current relations between the DPRK and PRC are characterized by a gradual retreat by the Korean leadership from the previous unilateral orientation toward China.

The period from 1958 to 1963 was marked by a rapprochement between the DPRK and PRC. Ties between the PRC and DPRK in that period were extensively developed in all areas-trade, economic, and military cooperation.

The figures below show a serious economic dependence on China.

[...]

The Chinese leaders have tried to expand Sino-Korean military cooperation in order to increase their influence on the DPRK. Ties between China and the DPRK through military channels have been especially intensified since the end of 1962, when the USSR did not grant the Koreans' request to grant additional free military aid. In March 1963 Pyongyang was unofficially visited by a Chinese military delegation, which signed an agreement to grant the DPRK military aid. According to some information in the event of a military conflict in Korea, the Chinese promised to send more than 1 million of their soldiers there.

However, changes soon occurred in the Korean position.

"Events in Vietnam have exerted a great sobering influence on the Korean leadership: as an example of this, the Koreans were convinced that Mao Zedong and his group were ready to support not only the interests of the Vietnamese, but also of the Korean people for the sake of their great power, nationalistic purposes. The Chinese side has repeatedly tried to push the Koreans to aggravate the situation in South Korea 'to help Vietnam', without taking into account the real situation and the consequences."

"The improvement of Soviet-Korean relations has provoked dissatisfaction on the part of the Beijing leaders, who tried to slow the process of the DPRK's retreat, which was unwelcome to them, from a pro-Chinese policy. During Shehu's visit to Beijing in April 1966 accusations of 'revisionism' and 'centrism' were offered by the Chinese against the Parties which participated in the work of the XXIII Congress. Kim Il Sung assessed these attacks as an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the KWP."

Soon after the conclusion of a Soviet-Korean economic agreement (June 1966) in response, the Chinese began to complicate relations with the DPRK and put economic and political pressure on it. Chinese foreign trade organizations began to make various complaints about the quality of Korean goods, demanded the delivery of products in short supply, and refused to deliver individual goods of vital importance to the DPRK. In 1966 China sharply reduced deliveries to the DPRK of vegetable oil and soybeans, and in January 1967 sulfur and some types of industrial raw commodities. The Chinese authorities have prohibited Korean fishermen from catching fish along the Chinese coast."

The KWP leadership is displeased that the Chinese object to sending volunteers to Vietnam from the socialist countries and, despite the difficulties caused by Beijing, have sent about 100 of their own pilots to the DRV posing as specialists to take part in military operations."

"In Pyongyang they have condemned the events connected with the so-called 'Cultural Revolution' in China. Without speaking directly about the Chinese, the DPRK press printed a number of articles against Trotskyism and 'left opportunism.' It was remarked in a report at a KWP conference by Kim Il Sung that Communists should not permit leftist excesses and artificially foment class warfare" [...]

"In a confidential conversation, Kim Il Sung called the 'Cultural Revolution' in China 'incredible madness.' Kim Il also spoke of the 'Cultural Revolution' in the PRC in approximately the same negative terms when he was in Moscow...According to available information, the Chinese 'Cultural Revolution' was sharply criticized at closed meetings in KWP Party organizations. Evidently with the same goal, in 1966 the Korean leadership swept away from [their] posts KWP CC Politburo member Kim Changman, candidate member of the Political Committee [Ha Angcheon], and several other Korean leaders who had become the primary champions of Chinese ideological influence in the KWP.

A number of items of information have recently appeared in China through the Hongweibing [Red Guard] newspaper channel in which slanderous fabrications were spread with regard to the domestic situation in the DPRK and the KWP leadership. The term 'Korean revisionism' was put into circulation. In meetings with the Red Guards Chinese leaders declare that 'the DPRK will also soon slide into revisionism' and the northeastern regions of China are 'the forefront which is encircled from three sides: by Soviet, Mongolian, and Korean revisionism."

Fabrications which appeared in Red Guards newspapers and handbills about a coup d'etat which had allegedly occurred in the DPRK provoked deep resentment among the Korean leaders. In an official statement published on 26 January of this year the DPRK Central Telegraph Agency condemned the slanderous fabrication of the Red Guards in sharp tones as an attempt to mislead world public opinion...Twice, in December 1966 and February 1967, the DPRK public security agencies prohibited anti-Soviet demonstrations by Chinese students at the Soviet Embassy in Pyongyang prepared by the Chinese Embassy."

"The KWP retreat from the positions of Beijing is irritating the Chinese leaders, who are now already taking extreme measures. According to information of the Soviet Embassy in Pyongyang, the Chinese have begun to fortify their border with the DPRK, artificially create

border incidents, violate the agreement about peaceful settlement of issues about defectors, renew the dispute over the issue of Sino-Korean border at Baekdu-san (Baitoushan) Mountain, etc."

"Meanwhile, the retreat of the KWP leadership from unquestioning support of the divisive adventurous policy of Beijing does not mean that it has completely taken the stand of the majority of Marxist-Leninist Parties. The views of the KWP leadership do not agree with the policy of the CPSU and other fraternal Parties on a number of important issues. The Korean leaders regard the CPSU with a certain wariness and permit themselves unfounded critical comments regarding its policy, and are often insincere. In confidential conversations, Kim Il Sung and other KWP leaders basically support all the foreign and domestic measures of our Party, including their praise of the December (1966) CPSU CC plenum. However, the broad KWP Party masses were not informed about it and not a word about the CPSU CC plenum was published in the Korean press.

The October (1966) KWP conference officially proclaimed a policy of fighting on two fronts, both against 'contemporary revisionism' and 'left opportunism' as the main task of the Party. At the Party conference Kim Il Sung stressed that the KWP will never 'dance to someone else's tune' and 'advised' all fraternal Parties to strictly follow an independent policy. He forcefully stressed the independence of his positions; the Korean leadership thereby demonstrates its noninvolvement with any of the sides in the disagreements which exist in the international Communist movement, and strives to maintain normal relations with both the PRC and the USSR." [12]

The Far East Department

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DOCUMENT No. 34

[Source: AVPRF f. 0102, op. 23, p. 112, d. 24, pp. 13-23. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko and translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg]

7 March 1967 Memorandum from the Soviet Embassy in the DPRK (A. Borunkov)

"The DPRK Attitude Toward the So-called 'Cultural Revolution' in China"

"Events in China associated with the so-called 'Cultural Revolution' have seriously alarmed the Korean leadership, which has reason to fear its negative influence on the DPRK"

"During the period of the Korean-Chinese rapprochement people came to leadership at various levels of the Party and government apparatus who completely approved of the Korean leadership policy of rapprochement with China and weakening ties with the USSR"

"After the Korean leadership began to retreat from a unilateral orientation toward China it made several corrections to its ideological work with the population. It began to criticize both the CPSU and the CCP, trying to show that only the KWP policy took the correct position."

"The so-called 'Cultural Revolution' in China has forced the Korean leadership to take steps to strengthen Party and government personnel both at HQ and at the grass roots."

Steps were taken at the end of 1966 to reorganize the highest echelon of the Party apparatus, apparently not ignoring the possible negative consequences for the DPRK of the so-called "Cultural Revolution."

The increase in the number of members and candidate members of the Politburo and KWP CC secretaries and the appointment of a Deputy Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers is evidence of a desire of the Korean leadership to involve new people in running the Party and the country from among those who unquestionably approve of Kim Il Sung's current domestic and foreign policy."

"With the exception of Kim Il Sung, Korean workers avoid conversations on this subject [of the Cultural Revolution] or limit themselves to general phrases which mean nothing.

As events develop in China the KWP leadership has exhibited ever-growing concern and caution. In a conversation with the Soviet Ambassador in November 1966 Kim Il Sung said, "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has seriously alarmed us." Explaining the reasons for such alarm, Kim Il Sung pointed to the fact that KWP members "still are not so experienced [*zakaleny*] as to correctly understand everything" (See ref. N° 313 of 2 December 1966)

The need has arisen to conduct such explanatory work among KWP members as a result of which they would, on the one hand, as before be convinced of the correctness of the policy of the Korean leadership and, on the other, unquestionably approve of the negative attitude of the Korean leadership toward the so-called 'Cultural Revolution.'"

"According to information available to the Embassy explanatory work among KWP members in connection with the so-called 'Cultural Revolution' in China is of quite a critical [*ostryy*] nature."

"The leaders of the KWP speak of the so-called 'Great Cultural Revolution' as a 'great madness [*obaldenie*]', having nothing in common with either culture or a revolution."

In restricted propaganda the repression of intellectuals by the government, the destruction of cultural monuments, and the anti-Sovietism which has become the main substance of the policy of the ruling group of China are condemned (See our ref. N° 49 of 21 February 1967).

"The Korean comrades speak of the 'thousands of victims during the so-called 'revolution', the 'suicides', the 'political chaos', and the 'chaos in the economy,' about Mao Zedong as 'an old fool who has gone out of his mind.' In lectures they cite instances of political and economic pressure on the DPRK from the Chinese government."

"Speaking at a festive meeting (dedicated to the 19th anniversary of the Korean People's Army) O Jinu, Deputy Minister of Defense, said, 'The hope of any rift in our Party and our revolutionary ranks is stupid naïveté.' This statement might be regarded as a response to the Chinese for their attempts to conduct a campaign of slander against the DPRK."

"Questions (about the Cultural Revolution) were raised in a report by Kim Il Sung at a KWP Party conference (October 1966). Although there was no direct criticism of the Chinese leadership in his speech, it was later explained to KWP members in lectures and conversations to whom the accusations of left opportunism were addressed. In a conversation with the Soviet Ambassador in October 1966, Kim Il Sung said that, "They could not fail to touch on theoretical issues at the KWP conference inasmuch as right now a big uproar had developed in China around the 'Great Cultural Revolution,' which might exert a great influence on our Party (see our ref. N° 286 of 21 October 1966).

"Among the articles of the Korean press published in the second half of 1966 in response to the so-called 'Cultural Revolution,' the most important is an editorial of the newspaper 'Nodong Sinmun' of 12 August 1966, 'In Defense of Independence.' In unofficial conversations with Soviet workers, Korean comrades have tried to stress that the article is mainly directed against the Chinese leaders."

In January 1967 a republic meeting of mechanical engineers was held with the involvement of Korean leaders and a large number of workers from around the country, and in February a Congress of cooperative workers [was held]. It is also intended to hold a meeting of construction workers, teachers, and others.

In a conversation with the Soviet Ambassador, Candidate Member of the KWP CC Politburo Pak [Yongguk] said that, besides the practical tasks of improving the work of sectors of the economy, the meeting had the goal of "raising the level of consciousness of the masses" (see our ref. N° 31 of 7 February 1967).

"Korean-Chinese relations continue to worsen, despite of the wishes of the Korean leadership."

The DPRK MFA requested that all accredited embassies in Pyongyang remove photographic showcases beginning 1 February. The Korean comrades did not conceal that this measure was directed against the Chinese government. All embassies except China's carried out this instruction. The photographic showcase propagandizing the so-called "Cultural Revolution" still hangs at the Chinese Embassy in Pyongyang. Repeated statements of the DPRK MFA directed at the Chinese Embassy remain unanswered. The Korean authorities have resorted to "administrative measures," forbidding residents of the city from walking past the showcase. Also, a photographic showcase was recently reopened by the Albanian Embassy in Pyongyang. The Korean authorities regarded these actions by the Chinese and Albanians as "provocative and criminal."

Speaking before representatives of the accredited embassies of the socialist countries in Pyongyang, Pak [Chon Sok], the Chief of the Protocol Department of the DPRK MFA, said that "our people are indignant at the 'arrogant' behavior of the Chinese. The Chinese and the

Albanians are behaving like hysterical people," "they are not able to avoid responsibility for the criminal actions damaging the interests of the DRPK."

In the words Kim [Yeongnam], a Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, a strong protest has been sent to the Chinese leadership in connection with the anti-Korean slander which is being spread by the Red Guards in Beijing.

Chinese students and part of the specialists have left Pyongyang.

The newly appointed DPRK Ambassador to China has not yet left for Beijing. The Korean leaders speak indignantly of attacks by the Red Guards on officials of the Korean Embassy in Beijing.

In conversations the Korean leaders sharply condemn the actions of the Mao Zedong and his group, and correctly assess the harm events in China are causing to the international Communist movement and the socialist camp. At the same time, the Korean leadership does not dare openly criticize the Chinese, trying to avoid anything that might be used by the Chinese for anti-Korean purposes.

Anti-Chinese actions [*vystuplenie*] in the DPRK are of a retaliatory nature. It is supposed that the Korean leaders will act that way in the future when it is a matter of DPRK prestige in the international arena.

The Korean leadership does not denounce the anti-Sovietism of the Chinese ruling group. In restricted propaganda it continues to accuse the CPSU of displaying "weakness" toward the US, of "colluding" with the US to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, of an incorrect attitude "toward Yugoslavia the reactionary forces of India, and interference in the affairs of fraternal Parties ["].

In conversations with foreigners the Korean leaders have begun to talk somewhat more freely about events in China. However, the impression is formed that the Korean leadership is taking a close watch so that the anti-Chinese sentiments which have recently intensified do not take the shape of open resentment of the people. Most of the Korean population is poorly informed about the situation in China and about the actions of Mao Zedong and his group.

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DOCUMENT No. 35

[Source: MOL, XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1967, 61. doboz, 1, 002130/1967. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Balázs Szalontai]

Report, Embassy of Hungary in North Korea to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, 9 March 1967.

As we already reported in an open telegram, Kim Il Sung—in the presence of the members of the KWP Presidium and several other high-ranking leaders—had received Cuban Ambassador Vigoa, who will leave the DPRK in the immediate future. Following the reception, Kim Il Sung gave a luncheon in honor of the Cuban ambassador. In the opinion of several fraternal ambassadors, this stressed honor was given not only to the Cuban ambassador but also reflected the close cooperative contacts between the Korean and Cuban parties.

According to the information received from Comrade Horst Brie, the ambassador of the GDR, of the conversation that took place between Comrades Kim Il Sung and Vigoa, it was the following parts that were the most significant:

Kim Il Sung praised the right policy of the KWP Presidium, which was justified by the present events as well. He considered the international situation as well as the situation of the Communist and workers' movement extremely complicated. Speaking of the Korean-Chinese relationship, Kim Il Sung stated that it was very problematic, and he referred to the slanderous remarks of the Chinese that had become known recently. Evidently referring to the [alleged] conflict between Kim Il Sung and Kim Gwanhyeop that the Red Guards had spread reports of, Kim Il Sung jokingly remarked that Kim Gwanhyeop was also sitting there with him, he was participating in the conversation, and it was obvious what this meant. During the conversation Kim Gwanhyeop also passed anti-Chinese remarks. Among others, he declared that he had known the current Chinese ambassador to Pyongyang well, and had fought alongside him against the Japanese for a long time, and [he knew] why he [the ambassador] was now under attack. (Our comment: as we already reported, according to the information we received from Mongolian sources, the work of the current Chinese ambassador to Pyongyang, who has not been here for a long time, was criticized at home.)

Kim Il Sung spoke disapprovingly of the activities of the Chinese embassy here, pointing out that the latter carried out anti-DPRK propaganda among the ethnic Chinese living in the DPRK. The Korean comrades were indignant with the provocations committed against the Korean embassy to Beijing, Kim Il Sung said, for they [the Chinese] planted such signs in front of our embassy as „Brezhnev and Kosygin should be roasted in their own fat.“ We understand what these attacks and the similar ones mean! With regard to the issue of the photo display-case [set up by the Chinese embassy to Pyongyang], Kim Il Sung stated that the behavior of the Chinese was not compatible with the principles of proletarian internationalism and one should declare it a bourgeois nationalist action instead. Speaking of the well-known behavior of the new Albanian ambassador, he stressed that the latter, though he had not spent more than a few days in the DPRK yet, once again put photos that had been removed by the Albanian chargé d'affaires ad interim into their photo display-case. This is hostile behavior, a step unworthy of a fraternal ambassador!

Kim Il Sung considered Korean-Cuban relations very good, and stated that a close friendly cooperation was characteristic of the latter, the views of the two parties were completely identical. The KWP fully supports the standpoint of the Cuban Communist Party. He cited as an example that the KWP supported only those Latin American revolutionary movements which the Cubans also agreed with and which they supported.

During the conversation Cuban Ambassador Vigoa asked a few questions. For instance, he inquired about the Korean-Yugoslav relationship and the possibility of establishing diplomatic relations [between Pyongyang and Belgrade]. Kim Il Sung answered the question concerning the establishment of diplomatic relations in the negative, and pointed out that the Romanians had similarly proposed the establishment of relations to them, and the Soviets also found that useful. (Our comment: A few days after the conversation between Kim Il Sung and Vigoa, the Korean press published a long anti-Yugoslav article based on Japanese sources.)

Comrade Vigoa inquired about the Korean comrades' opinion of the Soviet standpoint concerning the agreement on nuclear non-proliferation. It became clear from the reply of Kim Il Sung that they did not agree with it but would not attack and criticize it openly.

In another part of the conversation Kim Il Sung made mention of Mao Zedong. Pointing at Choe Yonggeon, who was present, he stated that he was the same age as Mao, yet his state of health was better and his mind was also livelier. Although at that time [in 1957] Mao Zedong, as opposed to Khrushchev, had apologized for his earlier interference in the internal affairs of Korea, by now „Mao Zedong has made twice as many mistakes as Khrushchev did,” he said.

With regard to the question of the unity of the international Communist and workers' movement, Kim Il Sung said that he saw two possibilities. One is that the small countries, on the basis of their collective action, persuade the two big ones, that is, China and the Soviet Union, to restore their unity and cooperation. The other is that the two big ones reach an agreement „by themselves,” without the help of the small ones. Of these two possibilities, it is the first one that is realistic, whereas the second one seems unrealizable.

István Kádás

(ambassador)

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DOCUMENT No. 36

[Source: PoIA AA, MfAA, G-A 364. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer]

GDR Embassy to the DPRK
Pyongyang, 16 March 1967

Note
on a Conversation with the 1st Secretary of the Soviet Embassy, Comrade Zvetkov,
on 15 March 1967

I visited Comrade Zvetkov to receive the promised information about Kim Il Sung's visit to Moscow. First I reported to Comrade Zvetkov about two other conversations of [GDR Ambassador] Comrade Brie with [Cuban Ambassador] Vigoa and [Vietnamese Ambassador] Hoang Moi.

- I. [...] [Replacement of Soviet Ambassador Gorchakev through Ambassador Sudarikov due to political and alcohol problems]

- II. Comrade Zvetkov made the following statements on the results of Kim Il Sung's visit to the Soviet Union in December 1966:
 1. Kim Il Sung's visit to the Soviet Union was unofficial. The Soviet comrades did not know in advance about the interruption of his stay and Kim Il Sung's ensuing travel to Romania. He [Zvetkov] is not aware of the actual reasons and results of this visit to Romania.

 2. [...] [Vietnam]

 3. On China
 Comrade Brezhnev provided Kim Il Sung with an overview of this problem. In his statement on this subject, Comrade Kim Il Sung explained that the KWP considers the so-called Cultural Revolution in China as mass lunacy which largely impacts the DPRK as well. The DPRK is situated very close to China, and there are many problems to solve for the construction of socialism [in Korea]. Therefore the KWP does not openly criticize the CCP since it cannot simply do it. It is imperative for the KWP to think about the future since it is aware of the wickedness of the Chinese.

 4. [...] [European Security and Non-Proliferation]

 5. On Polemics [between USSR and China]
 Kim Il Sung stated the KWP does not deem it necessary to conduct open polemics. Actually, the KWP is against this.
 Comrade Brezhnev explained that the CPSU had kept quiet for two years but the CCP did not abort polemics. Thus, the CPSU was forced to refute those accusations and explain its own positions. Yet it did so without any insults. Kim Il Sung explained that the KWP had stopped criticizing the CPSU a long time ago and will not change that.

 6. On the Conference [of communist and workers parties]
 Kim Il Sung expressed his very negative opinion on the proposals made at the Party Congresses in Hungary and Bulgaria. Comrade Brezhnev referred to the fact that already 60 fraternal parties had agreed to participate in such a conference. Kim Il Sung replied the Korean comrades think conditions have not yet matured for such a conference. The Chinese party and some others will not participate. Thus it is warranted to understand the position of the KWP. Currently the CCP has its own group in about 60 countries. Maybe it would use this opportunity to convene a separate conference. This way unity will not be achieved at all. To the contrary, the division will become deeper. For these reasons, the KWP will "neither participate with you, nor with the Chinese."

7. [...] [Japan]
8. Relations Soviet Union - DPRK
Comrade Zvetkov stated that both sides recognized the positive development of relations and were pleased with the results of the talks.
9. On Economic Questions
Kim Il Sung also presented some general requests about the further supply of Soviet aid. There was agreement in principle and a decision to talk about this in detail at a later opportunity.

III. On the Visit of a Government Delegation headed by Kim Il Sung to the Soviet Union between 13 February and 4 March 1967

As a result of the talks between Kim Il Sung and Brezhnev [in December 1966], the KWP had decided to send a government delegation to the Soviet Union headed by Kim Il Sung to discuss economic questions in more detail. The Korean side stated its following wishes:
[...] [long list of concrete aid projects]

Jarck
Acting Ambassador

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DOCUMENT No. 37

[Source: MOL, XIX-J-1-j China, 1967, 59. doboz, 1, 001136/6/1967. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Balázs Szalontai]

Report, Embassy of Hungary in China to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, 11 April 1967.

At a luncheon given in his honor, Korean Chargé d'Affaires Kim Jaeseok had a long conversation with our counsellor. During this he fully agreed with our evaluation of the Chinese situation, repeated in his own words what had been said by our counsellor, and added some examples of his own. He agreed that the destruction of the Communist party could not be a means to construct socialism, and he particularly approved of our view that the Chinese effort to force the person of Mao and his so-called thoughts on the peoples of the world was by no means compatible with the principles of internationalism.

In the opinion of Comrade Kim, one of the serious errors of Chinese policy and a cause of the chaos created by the „Cultural Revolution” is the improper method that they [the CCP leaders] rely on the masses solely in slogans; in reality, it is the subjective will of one or two persons that decides everything. „The chaos of the events makes one feel,” Comrade Kim said, „that the Chinese leaders have no program or definite conception, and they do not steer [the country] purposefully, on the basis of principles.”

With regard to individual leaders, he mentioned that there were still many more people behind Liu Shaoqi than usually believed. For instance, to their [the North Koreans'] knowledge, the organization called „Committee for the Unity of Action” is actually a substantial armed unit with a membership of approx. 12,000, which is opposed to Mao. As for Zhou Enlai, both the attacks launched on his deputies and certain articles of *Red Flag* [Hongqi] and *Renmin Ribao*, which attack those who focus on economic issues, are actually directed against Zhou Enlai.

Comrade Kim agreed with our evaluation that the majority of the Chinese people are opposed to the policy pursued by Mao, and this was the main cause of that the Cultural Revolution was still dragging on. As an example for the manifestation of opposition and its repression, he said that in the course of the recent demonstrations against Liu Shaoqi, some 500 railroadmen hurled abuse at the internal security forces in front of the main entrance of the government district. The soldiers surrounded the group and forced them to read quotations from Mao on their knees and with their heads bowed. When a leader of the railroadmen was not willing to continue this and stood up, the soldiers pounced on him and beat him up.

As for the general evaluation of the Chinese internal situation, the Korean chargé d'affaires repeatedly emphasized that the situation was very confused and dangerous. He made [the Hungarian counsellor] feel that it was the outbreak of civil war that he meant by danger.

With regard to the economic situation, he remarked that Chinese data were unreliable and it was very difficult to form an accurate notion of [the situation]. As for crop prospects and a possible famine, he referred to a placard, according to which [Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China] Chen Yi had declared that peasants had nothing to eat. He added that to his knowledge, there were serious problems in industry as well. The main cause of all this was that there was no plan, no economic program, and the workers themselves also felt uncertain, they were afraid of the future.

With regard to the international effects of the Cultural Revolution, the Korean chargé d'affaires declared that the peoples of the world had no need of such a Cultural Revolution. Over there, in Korea this would be inconceivable, for their principal problem was the division of the country and the constant threats of the American imperialists.

As for Sino-Korean relations, he told [the Hungarian counsellor] the incident caused by the display-case at the [Chinese] embassy in P'yongyang, which had been known to us, and emphasized that unfortunately the Chinese comrades did not submit themselves to the general rules. He agreed with our evaluation that this was a manifestation of Chinese big-power chauvinism. He condemned the Red Guards' attacks on Kim Il Sung in a very sharp tone, stressing that although Korea was only a small country and it was also in a difficult situation, they could not tolerate such attacks. He said that their ambassador to Beijing had received his approval long ago, but then the Red Guards' attack on Kim Il Sung came up, and thus for the time being the ambassador would not come. In an indignant voice, he said that during the demonstrations against the Soviet embassy to Beijing, [the Red Guards] had torn off the flag from the car of their ambassador as well, stuck a lot of slogans on another car of theirs, and when they protested, the Chinese dismissed their protest. To characterize Sino-Korean relations, he

said that the Chinese viewed the relationship between the two countries in a way similar to the [human relations] that had existed under feudalism, when a weak man, if slapped by a strong one, was required to turn the other cheek so as to get a second slap.

Trade relations between the two countries are stagnating, it happens more and more frequently that there are problems concerning the deadlines of Chinese shipments. Cultural and scientific-technological cooperation practically stands still.

According to the evaluation of Comrade Kim, one of the negative effects of the Chinese Cultural Revolution was the fact that the American imperialists, taking advantage of the faults of Chinese policies, intensified both their aggression in Vietnam and their South Korea-based provocational activity that was directed against the DPRK.

It is shown also by the aforesaid conversation how the Cultural Revolution alienates former friends from China. It was evidently because of the anti-Korean attacks of the Red Guards that the previously cautious behavior of Chargé d'Affaires Kim has become almost militantly anti-Chinese.

András Halász
(ambassador)

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 38

[Source: MfAA, C 1088/70. Obtained for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer and translated for NKIDP by Karen Riechert]

Memorandum

on Audience for Comrades Heintze and Breitenstein with Comrade Pak Seongcheol, Member of the Politburo, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, 12 May 1967, 5.20 p.m.

GDR Embassy in the DPRK
Pyongyang, 13 May 1967

Further persons present:

Comrade Strauss, Acting Ambassador

From the Koreans:

A Deputy President of the Korean Trade Union

Comrade Shin Taein as interpreter

Comrade Heintze thanked us for the invitation and acknowledged the success of the Korean workers in rebuilding their homeland and economically strengthening the Republic. He also

mentioned some of his impressions, e.g. from the mass demonstration or from the visit to the Pioneers' Palace, which proved to be gratifying for the Foreign Minister.

Comrade Pak Seongcheol then made the following remarks:

“The population of the DPRK is a united front behind Comrade Kim Il Sung. After the speech of Comrade Kim Il Sung at the Party Conference in October 1966, we have to concentrate at the same time on strengthening defense and on developing the economy. A share of 30 percent of our budget is for defense matters. Because we are compelled to make tremendous efforts in this field, we cannot introduce the five-day work week, as you recommended at the occasion of your 7th Party Congress. We are unable to do that because the enemy stands right across [the border]. He provokes [us] every day, blood is shed almost every day.”

“If the enemies attack, we will inflict a crushing defeat on them. In order to do that, we have to increase defense capabilities. We aspire to equip everybody with arms, to modernize weapons, and to build an army of professional cadres. We have already succeeded in almost all of this, but there are still many efforts required. You saw our worker militias on May 1st. Some said: ‘Maybe this was the army, only wearing different uniforms?’ But why should we do that? Those were all factory workers. We have plenty of them. Within ten minutes, all of them would be ready for action.”

“The enemy is threatening us with nuclear bombs. But we are not afraid. Of course, the nuclear bomb is dangerous because it is a weapon of mass destruction. It is bad, however, to be just afraid. There are also ways to fight it. We are, for example, prepared to protect all our people in underground facilities. Before long, we will operate an underground transportation system. It has been under construction for 12 years already. In times of peace, it will serve as an underground train; in an emergency, it will protect our people. We have been digging underground everywhere; for more than 17 years now, all over the country. We are prepared and are not afraid of nuclear bombs.”

“During the war (1950-1953), the Americans dropped thousands of tons of bombs every day and destroyed our country, but the people stayed. The U.S. may have modern technology, but they don't have good infantry. Therefore, it doesn't make sense for the Americans to occupy Korea because this would mean they would have to surrender, even in the case of victory, since they don't have a good infantry (Comrade Pak Seongcheol obviously seemed to allude to guerilla warfare). One has to understand that. If you don't understand that, you cannot fight U.S. imperialism. Vietnam had, at the beginning only its fists and the Americans came with plenty of weapons and ammunition. Of course, this was sort of a disadvantageous situation. But now the Americans have reached an impasse. They have the tiger by its tail but can neither regain their grip nor let go of the tiger. If you consult history, you will find that a just war never ended in defeat. Besides, of all those American troops in Vietnam, less than half of them really count as soldiers. A quarter of them have to carry out transportation duties. Another quarter is constantly on the move. Furthermore, the American soldiers willfully let mosquitoes bite them and intentionally fill water into their boots, which were supposed to protect them from the swamps. They do not want to fight.”

“Why do I mention all of this? One should not be too afraid of the U.S. Currently, there is such huge propaganda to inspire fear of nuclear bombs, but that is not justified. The American troops are scattered all over the world. Therefore, it is necessary to unite the forces of the Afro-Asian and Latin American people to actively carry out the battle against U.S. imperialists and to inflict wounds on them everywhere. Although, the socialist camp is currently not united and there are differences of opinion between the Soviet Union and China, Kim Il Sung said at the conference in October that the socialist camp should come together, put aside differences and unite. China rants against the Soviet Union, and the latter replies. The Soviet Union has to respond, of course.”

At this point, Comrade Heintze remarked that the Chinese leadership is also ranting against us and everybody else.

Comrade Pak Seongcheol replied: “Yes, against everybody.” He continued: “The U.S.A. applauds these disagreements. Some even think the Americans in Vietnam could expand the war because of China’s attitude. However, we think the arguments are an internal matter. Whether China or the Soviet Union commits mistakes—they both claim to be right—they both need to move towards each other.”

At this point Comrade Heintze remarked that it does not matter much whether there have been mistakes or not. This is about the basics of Marxism-Leninism and about supporting the Vietnamese people more effectively in their struggle. And the latter is getting obstructed by the Chinese leadership.

Pak Seongcheol replied: “The Vietnamese comrades are telling us that they receive material and use it in combat. They have Soviet missiles. Yet, even if transports through China are indeed obstructed, you must not mention that. This causes damage. For instance, the Vietnamese comrades requested material from us. We quickly prepared the shipments, but the Chinese comrades told us we have to submit delivery lists six months in advance. Then, we just shipped the material to the border ourselves, handed it over to the Vietnamese comrades, and a month later they had it in their home country. Obviously, these problems have to be addressed. But there is no value in public polemics.”

Then, Comrade Pak Seongcheol turned to relations between our two countries and stated: “The situation in both our countries is identical in many respects. However, the method of struggle is different. We will not make assessments which method is superior; this depends entirely on the situation. During my visit to the GDR in November [1966], I had the chance to state our opinion clearly. Since we are both divided countries, we need to strengthen our collaboration and develop our relations. I think it is mandatory and possible to solidify our relations with the GDR in the future, as we did in the past. I hold this opinion: Now our relations are good.”

Strauss
Acting Ambassador

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 39

[Source: AVPRF. f.0102, op. 23. p. 112, d. 24. pp. 73-74. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko and translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg].

Memo of the Soviet Embassy in the DPRK (3rd Secretary, R. Chebotarev),
5 August 1967

"Activity of the Chinese Embassy in Pyongyang" (on the issue of the photo display case)

"The Chinese Embassy has used a display case set up on the outer wall which surrounds the Embassy for propagandizing the 'Cultural Revolution,' spreading anti-Soviet lies, and glorifying Mao as 'the leader of the peoples of the entire world.' Similar actions were also negatively received by the Korean side. In order not to worsen the situation with China, the DPRK MFA suggested that all diplomatic missions having photographic wall display cases remove them by 1 February of this year. All the embassies except China's and Albania's carried out this instruction of the Korean side, whereupon the Chinese told a representative of the Korean MFA that they would observe the laws of the DPRK which they like and would not observe those which they did not like...The ill-fated showcase exists to this day, but no one is able to familiarize themselves with its content since the Korean authorities have prohibited walking on the sidewalk around the Chinese Embassy."

[...]

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DOCUMENT No. 40

[Source: PoIA AA, MfAA, C 149/75. Obtained and Translated for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer].

GDR Embassy to the DPRK
Pyongyang, 20 October 1967

Note

on a Conversation with the Acting Ambassador of the People's Republic of Poland, Comrade Pudisz, on 9 October 1967 between 1000 and 1130 hours in the Polish Embassy

The visit was paid following a Polish request.

At the beginning I informed Comrade Pudisz extensively about the activities of our embassy for the 18th Anniversary of the foundation of the GDR. Then Comrade Pudisz made statements on the following issues:

1. The PR China has stopped its aid to the DPRK in the following areas:
- Coke and gas coal (previously 2.5 million tons annually)

- Oil and oil products (20,000 tons per month, i.e. 250,000 tons per year)
In addition, they do not deliver any more salt, vegetable oil and cotton. The DPRK government has been officially informed about this by the Chinese side.

2. Recently dead bodies are said to have been found in a freight train arriving into the DPRK from China via Sinuiju. They were Koreans living in Northeastern China. People are said to have gotten injured or killed in incidents between Maoist Red Guards and members from the Korean minority in the PRC. The dead bodies were placed on the freight train bound to the DPRK. The freight cars also had anti-Korean slogans written on the sides. Like for instance: "See, that's how you will fare as well, you little revisionists!"
3. The DPRK has indicated to the Soviet side its willingness to send workers to Eastern Siberian regions to explore and mine for coal and salt.

Jarck
Acting Ambassador

CC:
2x Far Eastern Department/Foreign Ministry
1x Embassy

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 41

[Source: PoIA AA, MfAA, C 146/75. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer.]

GDR Embassy to the DPRK
Pyongyang, 13 November 1967

Ministry for Foreign Affairs
Head of Far Eastern Department
Comrade Kurt Schneidewind
102 Berlin
Marx-Engels-Platz 2

Dear Comrade Schneidewind!

Due to the Ambassador's extended absence and the fact that he just returned to Pyongyang a few days ago, [Ambassador] Comrade Brie asked me to write the monthly information letter to you.

The most important question over recent weeks here were the festivities in the context of the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. We have already informed you about many details like exhibits and invited delegations and so on. Therefore today we will attempt to provide a first overview and summary. We will only refer to individual events and similar things

when they made relevant contributions to the overall character of how to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution in the DPRK.

In general we must say that preparations for the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution started in the DPRK later than in all the the other socialist countries, as far as we know about this from the Soviet and GDR press. The overall atmosphere of all the events in the DPRK was quite reserved. Here are some examples: [...]

As far as the sending of delegations to Moscow is concerned, so have we already given extensive information earlier. The question to send a party and government delegation, in particular the question who is going to lead it, was discussed twice in the KWP politburo. Foreign Minister Pak Songcheol explained to the Soviet Ambassador the politburo's decision not to commission Kim Il Sung with leading the delegation, as he is not in good health and has a lot of work to do. When the Soviet Ambassador informed Kim Il Sung in person about the festivities in Moscow and the foreign delegations present there, Kim Il Sung stated in this personal conversation that he cannot travel to the USSR for the following reasons according to a decision of the KWP politburo:

1. The situation at the DMZ is very tense, and in many respects it reminds him of the situation in the summer of 1950. He does not assume something very serious will happen, yet he thinks he can therefore not travel to Moscow.
2. Relations between DPRK and PRC are also tense and a source of concern for the Korean comrades. China tries to exert pressure on the DPRK. For instance, recently a Korean train was halted for several days at the border since the driver refused to accept a Mao badge. Kim Il Sung furthermore stated to the Soviet Ambassador that the DPRK has a long border with China and everything conceivable can happen. Also Kim Il Sung mentioned that he has a lot of work with the elections scheduled for the end of November.

[...]

[more concrete evidence on North Korean indifference about, and negligence of, the historical importance of the 50th Anniversary of the October Revolution; also GDR Embassy business and personnel matters]

With Socialist Greetings,
Jarck
1st Secretary

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 42

[Source: MOL, XIX-J-1-j China, 1967, 59. doboz, 1, 001187/62/1967. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Balázs Szalontai]

Report, Embassy of Hungary in China to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, 20 November 1967.

As an attachment, hereby I submit a news that was published in the international news column of the October 27 issue of the Red Guard newspaper named *Dongfanghong*.

During the Cultural Revolution, it already happened on several occasions that the [Red Guards] launched [verbal] attacks on the Korean leaders, but the utterances made in this article were the sharpest so far. The diplomats of the Korean embassy made extremely indignant declarations about the anti-Korean attack launched by the Chinese. We are of the opinion that the publication of this article played a role in that the Korean party sent a higher-level delegation to Moscow.

[signature]

(ambassador)

[...]

In recent times the Korean revisionists have shown an anti-Chinese tendency that is becoming more and more insane. The Korean revisionists are terrified by the Cultural Revolution. They say that nearly all intellectuals were killed in the Cultural Revolution.

What scoundrels they are, damn it! Anxious to pursue a policy of cooperating with the Soviet Union and opposing China, the Korean revisionists wholly deny the immense distinction that our heroic volunteers gained in the course of the anti-American resistance war aimed at helping Korea. Mad with rage, the gang of Kim Il Sung is slandering us by claiming that the assistance [we] gave to Korea during the anti-American war was motivated by our „national egoism” and we did that „for our own good.” It is even more hateful that the Korean revisionists are slandering us by claiming that the Korean War was „provoked” by us. This is how low the Korean revisionists have fallen! Now they are even digging up the graves of our volunteers who heroically sacrificed their lives in the Korean War! What more will we tolerate if we tolerate that? We sternly warn Kim Il Sung and his ilk that those who cooperate with the USA and the revisionists, and pursue an anti-Chinese policy, will come to a bad end. Sooner or later, the Korean people will rise up and settle up with you.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 43

[Source: MOL, XIX-J-1-j Korea, 1967, 61. doboz, 5, 002126/3/1967. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Balázs Szalontai]

Report, Embassy of Hungary in the Soviet Union to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, 25 November 1967.

According to the information received from the competent department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, several signs indicate that Sino-Korean relations keep worsening. Among these signs, we mention first of all that recently new pamphlets were published in Beijing, which contained a sharp attack on the Korean Workers' Party and the person of Kim Il Sung, threatening the leader of the Korean Workers' Party that the Korean people would take vengeance upon him for his revisionist policy. The estrangement of relations was also indicated by, for instance, the circumstances under which the latest Chinese holiday was celebrated in the DPRK. At the reception of the Chinese embassy, the level of representation on the Koreans' part was very low, the telegram of congratulations the Korean leaders sent to the Chinese was very cold, and no festive mass meetings took place in the country on the occasion of the Chinese national holiday. According to the information available for our [Soviet] comrades, the Chinese chargé d'affaires to Pyongyang complains that his opportunities to maintain contacts are very limited.

In the course of their contacts with the Soviet comrades, the Koreans, on their part, lay a rather great stress on the worsening of Sino-Korean relations, and they particularly emphasize that these relations have worsened in the economic field as well, for China does not supply those traditional export articles which are of primary importance for the Korean national economy, or it supplies [only] a relatively small amount of them. For example, coking coal, without which the furnaces of the DPRK would cease to work, is such an article.

Nevertheless, it is the impression of our comrades that although the Chinese side indeed tends to reduce its economic contacts with Korea, the Korean side exaggerates the extent of that [pressure] while negotiating with the Soviet comrades. The obvious reason of this is that they strive to bring the Soviet Union to increase [Soviet-North Korean] economic contacts to such an extent that would also include certain opportunities of over-insurance for the DPRK. This manifested itself quite clearly during the talks a Korean economic delegation headed by Deputy Premier and Minister of Foreign Trade Yi Jooyeon, a member of the Korean Workers' Party P[olitical] C[ommittee], had in the Soviet Union.

[...]

In the course of the Moscow negotiations, which lasted approximately for a month, [...] the Korean side proposed a substantial extension of the list of articles exchanged between the two countries, namely, by increasing Soviet exports through the increased supply of machinery and equipment, auto and tractor tires, rolled non-ferrous metals, and other „hard” goods, whereas it intended to increase [North Korean] exports to the Soviet Union by [supplying] goods whose exports had already been halted and of which the Soviet Union had, and has, little need. Despite that, the Soviets, on their part, showed willingness to accept, on the whole, the Korean proposal,

with regard to both exports and imports, and consequently in 1968 the exchange of goods between the two countries will increase, in all likelihood, by some 49 per cent in comparison with the previous year, and it will practically rise to the level planned for 1970.

[...]

Thus the economic contacts between the two countries are improving, albeit the developments are not necessarily beneficial for the Soviet Union in every respect. „Unfortunately,” [the officials of] the MID [the Soviet Foreign Ministry] point out, „this statement cannot be applied to other fields of the relationship between the two countries.” Here they concretely mention, on the one hand, those disagreements which exist between the two countries and the two parties with regard to the evaluation of the situation of the Communist and world movement and of the international situation in general, and, on the other hand, that therefore one can hardly speak of the intensification of political cooperation between the two countries. In the Soviet Foreign Ministry [officials] emphasize that despite the support the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries gave, and give, to the DPRK in the UN with regard to the Korean question, in many respects the DPRK quite rigidly refuses to express its support for the international policy of the Soviet Union.

In the course of the conversation our official [András Köves] had in the MID, [...] the Soviet side made the—obviously by no means official—statement that the Koreans and a few other parties—the Cubans, the Japanese CP, and this group also regarded the Vietnamese Workers’ Party as one of their own—which increasingly consider themselves to be the vanguard parties of the international Communist movement, which, on the one hand, play the greatest role in the struggle against imperialism, and, on the other hand, have solely fought a consistent battle in the Communist movement against leftist and rightist revisionism, and in the future might also intend to provide this political standpoint with some formal base.

It is well-known that the CPSU—like the majority of the Communist parties of the world—has positions on a number of questions of the international situation and the world Communist movement that are fundamentally different from [the position] of these parties. For instance, in the view of the Korean comrades the task is to increase international tension and, on this basis, intensify the struggle against American imperialism, while in the opinion of the CPSU it is international détente that guarantees better circumstances for the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples. Perhaps this is the fundamental antagonism [between the USSR and the DPRK], and it is of relatively secondary importance how one evaluates the role Korea or, for instance, Cuba strives to play in the anti-imperialist struggle of the socialist camp and the Communist movement in general. One can hardly accept the statement that Korea and Cuba are the advanced posts of the [anti-]imperialist struggle in the east and in the west respectively, and that they alone are subjected to the greatest pressure in the struggle against imperialism. On the contrary, the truth is most probably that it is exactly in Europe where the front between the two systems is the sharpest. [...]

As is well-known, the Korean party and government delegation headed by Comrade Choe Yonggeon that had participated in the celebrations of 7 November left [the USSR] for Cuba for a few days. Thus it returned President Dorticos’ official visit to Korea. Having returned from

Cuba, the Korean side very emphatically told the Soviet comrades that this visit had been a matter of protocol, but this way they actually reinforced the impression of our comrades that negotiations aimed at the intensification of bilateral Cuban-Korean cooperation had taken place in Havana. It is well-known that precisely because of the political essence of that cooperation, our comrades are not enthusiastic about [Cuban-Korean cooperation], particularly when it is accompanied by certain gestures which are not exactly friendly toward the Soviet comrades, for example, when Comrade Kim Il Sung does not write the article for *Pravda*, despite having been asked (along with the leaders of a number of other Communist parties) by the central paper of the CPSU on the occasion of 7 November, but publishes an article in a journal of the Cuban party instead, and this article once again highlights those issues in which the Korean Workers' Party adopts a unique standpoint that is opposed to [the position of] the majority of the parties of the international Communist movement.

As is well-known, Comrade Brezhnev received Comrade Choe Yonggeon during his stay here [in the USSR]. Comrade Brezhnev raised two groups of issues at this meeting. On the one hand, the problem of the international Communist meeting; on the other hand, the issue of the tension between North and South Korea along the demilitarized zone. [...]

Basically, the Soviet Union does not accept the standpoint of the DPRK with regard to the cause of the tension along the demilitarized zone. It thinks—and it also gives expression to that vis-a-vis the Korean comrades—that the United States does not intend to increase tension in this region, and nothing points to [the U.S.] really aiming to start a new Korean War. It is obvious that various factors of the USA's international situation, such as the Vietnam War, do not make the perspective of a new Asian war attractive for the United States.

On the basis of the available evidence—including the statements made by the Czechoslovak and Polish members of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission—the Soviet Union has concluded that it is the DPRK that initiates the majority of the incidents occurring along the demilitarized zone.

The Soviets, for their part, expound to our Korean comrades that they understand the necessity of the DPRK's struggle for the unification of the country. They support this struggle, but they are of the opinion that one should pay due regard to the concrete Korean and international conditions of the actual period when choosing the means and methods of the struggle. Therefore the Soviet side doubts that armed struggle is an appropriate method to reunify Korea.

For instance, in a military sense it would be, in all probability, inappropriate to come to such conclusions that the numerical superiority the DPRK's army has over the South Korean and American armies stationed in South Korea, and the essential militarization of the country, would render it possible for the DPRK to carry out successful military actions. Besides, the Soviet Union also tries to caution the DPRK against possible ill-considered actions through the military assistance it gives to that country by confining assistance to the supply of defensive arms. But the Korean comrades may make the mistake of not taking the nature and character of modern warfare into consideration to a sufficient extent.

Despite the aforesaid issues, it is the impression of our comrades that at present the DPRK, for its part, does not strive to escalate military actions, but by the regularly provoking border incidents and the accompanying propaganda campaign it intends to justify the militarization of the country and the fact that they [the KWP leaders], their official standpoint notwithstanding, can not develop the defense strength and the economy of the country simultaneously but lay stress only on the increasing of military strength, [which results in] the neglect of economic development and the stagnation of living standards.

In addition to the aforementioned issues, with regard to the internal situation of the DPRK, they [the Soviets] remark that lately the personality cult of Kim Il Sung has further increased to a great extent. Recently, a number of functionaries have been removed from the posts they occupied and have disappeared from public life. During the first wave of purges it seemed that it was carried out primarily against those leaders who had adopted a more or less pro-Chinese standpoint and against those who may have opposed the shaping of the Korean Workers' Party's independent policy that rejected the political line of the Chinese party leadership. Later, however, there occurred a second round of the purges, whose political content has not yet become clear for our comrades. In their view, the party functionaries involved in this round hardly seem to be the representatives of some Chinese line within the Korean party. Therefore they [the Soviets] feel uneasy about the further developments of the internal political situation.

[...]

József Oláh
(chargé d'affaires)

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 44

[Source: PolA AA, MfAA. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Obtained and Translated for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer.]

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
of the German Democratic Republic
to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Pyongyang, December 22, 1967
State Secretary and
First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs
Comrade Hegen

102 Berlin
Marx – Engels –Platz 2

Dear Comrade Hegen,

Our embassy's analytical work and report for 1967 has dealt primarily with the following issues:

- The economic development of the DPRK;
- Domestic developments since the Party Congress (especially after the June Plenum);
- The KWP's attitude towards different aspects of the world communist movement;
- The DPRK's relationship with the PRC, Vietnam, Cuba, the Soviet Union, and other European socialist states;
- The intensification of tensions along the line of demarcation and the reasons [for the intensification].

In December, the Far Eastern department suggested that we work out a prognosis for the development of the DPRK and the relationship between the GDR and the DPRK. The goals and structures of such a prognosis have been sent for approval to the Far Eastern department and thus to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Due to the embassy's extensive way of reporting, an exact report of the domestic and foreign policy of the DPRK by the GDR Embassy is no longer necessary. If the administration needed such a summary, it could be compiled from our section reports.

As a final analysis of my work done this year in the DPRK, I want to express my opinions regarding several aspects.

In the areas of domestic and foreign policy, the conflict between the heightened nationalistic outlook of the KWP and the government of the DPRK has increasingly intensified. Based on this heightened conflict, an opposition movement has developed in the party leadership over the stance on domestic policy. In my opinion, this opposition movement in the party leadership does not represent any fundamental shift in the nationalist-centered policy, but, rather, a slight modification of the contemporary policy can be seen. It seems that this opposition movement primarily advocates a more realistic economic policy (also an increase in living standards) and a more flexible policy regarding the national question. Regarding foreign policy, they seem to have argued for a policy which is based more on the actual capabilities of the DPRK. There are no signs that this opposition wanted to connect a modification of policy to a coup against Kim Il Sung. Obviously, they strive to achieve such a modification with his help by acknowledging his position of authority. Pak Geumcheol and Lee Hyosoon were doubtlessly in the forefront of this opposition movement. Furthermore, there are no signs that this opposition movement worked with the assistance of foreign forces such as the PR China. In my opinion, it is generally wrong to evaluate contemporary and prospective developments in the DPRK by labeling certain persons pro-Soviet or pro-Chinese.

The changes in the leadership of the party and the state reflect two important tendencies:

At the Party Congress in October 1966, the leadership of the military cadres was strengthened. In 1967, this process continued and resulted in similar changes taking place in the Supreme People's Assembly, the government, and governmental institutions.

There was a wide reorganization of the party, and the state cadres were developed under the leadership of Kim Il Sung. He was also responsible for their advancements. This reorganization

of the party cadres, in some cases, resulted in a nomination of functionally competent comrades. On the other hand, it also brought some incompetent nationalistic careerists.

The year 1967 was significant in increasing the nationalist-centered policy of the DPRK and the KWP. This process was mostly seen at the ideological level.

The cult personality of Kim Il Sung increased to a degree comparable only to the contemporary cult of Mao. But in my opinion, it is impossible to put the political assessment of this cult of personality on par with the development of the PR China. The enhancement of this cult will have negative domestic affects, especially in terms of ideology as well as in strategy and administering the national economy. Regarding foreign affairs, this cult concerns mostly the Maoist group's claim of leadership. Furthermore, this cult is certain that in part it will contribute to the contemporary development of the PR China. (Shielding against the influence of Mao as a revolutionary world leader and, particularly, against Mao as the leader of the Korean revolutionary forces.)

Regardless of the DPRK's desire to have normal relations with the Soviet Union as well the PR China, due to the Maoist group, the relationship with the PR China hit rock bottom at the end of 1967. This was expressed, among other ways, through a harsh protest that the Deputy Secretary of State, Heo Seoktae, also mentioned in November of this year. Protests were towards the Charge d' Affairs of the PR China, Wang Peng, concerning the offenses against Kim Il Sung and the policy of the DPRK.

I want to once again emphasize that, in my opinion, the DPRK still endeavors to have good governmental relations with the PR China as well as with the Soviet Union in the future. The DPRK does not strive to make a commitment to governmental political relations.

The relationship with socialist countries in Europe continued to improve in 1967. In certain circumstances, the DPRK was prepared to discuss essential problems in which they are most interested. Beyond this, they are making serious attempts to improve economic relations with most of the socialist countries in Europe.

Aspects, such as the visits to the GDR by leading DPRK personnel, the improvement of foreign trade relations, the willingness to reach long-ranging agreements with the GDR, and endeavoring new forms of a technical and scientific cooperation, have all been areas where the DPRK has worked towards the improvement of relations between our countries. In my opinion, this process will also prevail on the governmental level. In the field of relations between parties, the reluctance of the KWP towards the SED and other Marxist-Leninists Parties will continue. The position of the DPRK and the KWP towards the GDR is, in my opinion, influenced by the following aspects:

In the eyes of the DPRK, the GDR is an economically developed country with a very stable economy. Regarding cooperation with the GDR, the DPRK desires sustained economic support. Thereby, the DPRK expects a certain amount of aid from the GDR.

For the leadership of the DPRK, our party is an especially self-reliant, stable, and ideologically strong party, which has an important influence on the international communist movement, and also, in part, on the national liberation movement.

The ensuing and resolute position of the GDR in the conflict with American and West German imperialism and the major political and material support of Vietnam have been positively assessed.

The DPRK has some misgivings with our strategy and tactics on the national question, in terms of the policy of European security and against a tight brotherhood between the SED and the CPSU, the GDR and the Soviet Union and in the economic cooperation.

7. It is certain that, during the next few months, the cooperation of the embassy with different DPRK government and political organs will get more difficult and complicated. On the one hand, all cadres of the party and state machinery have obviously been instructed to behave cautiously and proudly towards all foreign representation. Presently, this arrangement mainly concerns the Soviet Embassy, to which the Koreans are behaving, in spite of the amount of military and economic assistance, especially discriminatory. To some extent, they are also behaving in a similar manner towards us and other embassies. Beyond this, the cooperation will get more complicated because of the political insecurity of the new cadres and their missing motivation to exchange opinions.

One important tactical question is how we should react towards the cautious behavior of the Koreans. In the context of this end of mission report, I want to respond to this. From my point of view, it is necessary to think carefully about this aspect and not to jump to conclusions.

To better characterize the behavior of the Koreans, I will provide several examples.

The Soviet ambassador formulated the request to transfer a movie about the OVV delegation's stay to a member of the delegation. In addition to transferring the movie, it was also allowed to be shown.

The Korean foreign minister responded that they suggest that a member delivers the movie to the record department.

For the disposal of notably important army transfers, like missiles, aircrafts, modern tanks etc., the Soviets suggested to accomplish it in a ceremony. But the Koreans didn't show any willingness towards this. Finally, the disposal found its place in a small room with tea and cigarettes.

The Koreans urgently requested help from the Soviet Union, due to the fact that their production of steel would be disrupted without an immediate shipment of additional coke. Five days after the Korean request for help, Comrade Novikov personally phoned Ambassador Comrade Sudarikov. He advised Sudarikov of the willingness to immediately deliver an additional amount of coke. Further, he asked him to clear just one question with the government in order to start the deliveries immediately.

While I was present at an event, the Soviet ambassador asked Kim Gwanhyeop for two minutes time in order to solve the above-mentioned question. The chief of records came back from Kim Gwanhyeop only with the information that the Soviet ambassador should call the foreign ministry the next day in order to ask for an appointment. Thus, he would get further information.

Just a few Korean comrades arrived at the departing ceremony of the Soviet military attache (degree general), and the main guests came 30 minutes too late. The main guest was a general responsible for the execution. (At the departing ceremony of our military attaché, there was a high attendance including the deputy chief of the general staff and a very high Korean attendee). The Korean representatives were not even present at the train station during the departing ceremony of the Soviet attaché.

As another example, the Soviet ambassador has been waiting nearly four weeks for an important conversation with Kim Il Sung, regardless to the fact that the Korean ambassador in Moscow never has to wait more than 48 hours for a meeting with Kosygin.

The Soviet ambassador arranged a cocktail party on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the diplomatic service of the Soviet Union. In addition to ambassadors, Charge d' Affaires and other diplomats, the deputy of the foreign ministry of the DPRK and many other comrades had been invited. The highest Korean guest was the assistant conductor of our national department.

At the opening of a huge book exhibition by the Soviet ambassador on December 12, approximately 30 Korean comrades were present. At our opening one year ago in the same accommodation, there were around 150 Korean comrades.

I have elaborately discussed these aspects already with Comrade Sudarikow. Thus, I asked him, if, due to the fact of such different behavior, the party and government of the Soviet Union will not draw any conclusion and change their policy towards the Korean comrades.[...]

Comrade Sudarikow answered: With calm and factuality, we have to try now for some duration to work insistently in gaining the confidence of the Korean government. It is important that the Koreans recognize that we, that is, the Soviet Union, simply have the best intentions towards the DPRK. He (Comrade Sudarikow) could assure me, that the Soviet Union would not make any rash reactions towards the contemporary behavior of the Koreans.

From my point of view, we should not react too rashly to the party's impolite attitude towards us. This attitude expresses itself during the long moment of waiting for the announcements at the foreign ministry, repeated queries about topics, and so on.

Regardless of the fact that our Korean partner is speaking in conversations in the style of newspaper articles, in the year 1968, we should strengthen the endeavors in the embassy, to explain our policy not only in the foreign ministry but also in other governmental institutions. Further, we should use all protocol possibilities to speak out on invitations of the embassy. In order to explain our policies and speak out about the low political value of talk compared to the effort at the embassy, which has proven urgent due to staff decreases, we must endeavor to keep up and deepen our relations with the Koreans.

There is a constant discussion in our embassy concerning the right proportions between events with other diplomatic representatives and Korean personalities. We always had to face the fact that these events developed in proportions to the disadvantages of the Korean personalities.

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DOCUMENT No. 45

[Source: /1/Source: Department of State, INR/IL Historical Files, Pueblo, 23 January 1968 to December 1968. Secret; Immediate; NoFORN.]

Telegram From the Commander in Chief, United Nations Command, and Commander of United States, Korea (Bonesteel) to the Commander in Chief, Pacific (Sharp)/1/

Seoul, January 23, 1968, 1405Z.

231405Z/UK 50223. Subject: Briefing of ROK Minister of Defense on *Pueblo* incident (S).

1. (S) C/S UNC/USFK briefed ROK MND at about 1830 I, 23 Jan 68, local (0930 Z) after approval received for classified briefing. MND was emotionally irate and indicated US had done little after North Korean raid aimed at assassination of President Park except call meeting at Panmunjeom and take normal operational steps, but because of *Pueblo* incident brought F-105's into Osan without prior ROK knowledge, was moving *Enterprise*, and seemed to be ready to risk war.
2. (S) He said would refrain from retaliatory raids against North Korea for time being, but if North Koreans made other significant raids, he would promise nothing further.
3. (S) He commented it would be wrong to cancel Armistice Commission meeting set for 1100 hours tomorrow because it had been announced publicly with purpose to protest vicious attack on President's mansion, Seoul.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 46

Notes of Meeting

Washington, January 24, 1968, 1 p.m.

SUBJECT

Notes of the President's Meeting With the National Security Council

PART I

The President: The Security Council meeting was set up before the ship incident. I want Secretary McNamara to bring you up to date on this matter. In addition we have asked Cyrus Vance and Lucius Battle for their opinions and judgments on Cyprus.

Secretary McNamara: All of you know the information which has been published. I will not go over any of that. We do not know what happened except that this incident was pre-planned. The earliest date on which it could have been planned was January 10 since this was the first time the North Koreans knew that the ship would be in the area.

Three things are clear:

1. It was a conscious effort to provoke a response or a lack of response.
2. The Soviets knew of it in advance.
3. The North Koreans have no intention of returning the men or the ship. I view this situation very seriously.

There are three key questions which are unanswered:

1. Why did they do it?
2. What will they do now?
3. How should we respond?

The President: Did the skipper ask for help?

General Wheeler: There was a message from the ship "These fellows mean business. SOS. SOS." His next message was that they were boarding the ship.

At 1200 (noon) the first North Korean vessel made contact with the Pueblo. One hour later, 3 other North Korean vessels appeared and several MIG fighters were seen overhead.

It is important to remember that we have harassments of this type all the time. The skipper probably considered it just that--a harassment--until between 1:00 and 1:45. This was when he recognized it as a very different situation from a normal harassment. At 1:45 he sent out the call for help.

Convert that to Eastern Standard Time, the first encounter was at 2200 (10:00 p.m. EST). This was when he was ordered to "heave to or I will open fire on you." At 2345 (11:45 EST) Pueblo radioed she was being boarded. At 2354 (11:54 EST) the first SOS came. We ceased to hear from the Pueblo 31 minutes later.

The President: Were there no planes available which were prepared to come to the aid of this vessel? Every press story I have seen this morning said that U.S. planes were only 30 minutes away.

Secretary McNamara: Air defenses in the Wonsan area are extensive. If we had sent airplanes to support and intercept, it is likely that these extensive air defense measures would be brought into play. In addition, it is necessary to consider the time of day and the approach of darkness.

General Wheeler: Aircraft would have needed to refuel in the air. Twilight comes at 5:09. Darkness comes at 5:38. There were only 3-1/2 hours of light. The Commander of the Fifth Air Force issued an order to dispatch aircraft but then reversed the order because of the approach of darkness and the superiority of enemy forces in the area.

Secretary McNamara: The North Koreans have a large air base in Wonsan.

Walt Rostow: We need to get together on these times. I have a document which agrees with yours that the first contact was at 2200. I have that the first SOS was received at 2328.

McNamara said this was 2354. I have information that the ship went off the air 0032. Secretary McNamara said the ship went off the air at 0025. For a matter of historical accuracy, we need to determine what is the correct time.

The President: I want you to assemble for me all the facts on this matter. Until now, I have been under the impression that the ship did not ask for help. Get all the facts and document them well so I can study this matter further.

Secretary Rusk: The negative reaction of North Korea and the Soviet Union was to be expected. One would expect the Soviets not to take responsibility. The reaction of the North Koreans last night at Panmunjeom was consistent with what I had expected. There are two conclusions:

1. It looks as if this incident was pre-planned.
2. The Soviets may have had advance notice of what was planned.

The President: What were the reasons for it?

Secretary Rusk: It could be a number of things. They may be trying to put additional pressure on us with reference to Vietnam. They may be trying to open up a second front. I do not see much in it unless they had either of these two objectives in mind.

The President: Have you fully briefed the members of Congress?

General Wheeler: General Brown already has talked with Senator Russell. He will see Senator Mundt, Senator Dodd and Senator Thurmond later today as directed by the President. Senator Russell seemed satisfied with the explanation given him today by General Brown. He was unhappy that an American ship was taken without a shot being fired on our side. The House Armed Services Committee was briefed this morning at its regular meeting. I will give the President a full report on that as soon as possible.

The President: All of the Committees will begin investigations of this incident once it cools down. Should we do anything to head this off?

Secretary McNamara: Until we know precisely what we are going to do, I do not recommend meeting with the Congress. They are not interested as much in what happened, which I think has been explained, as in what we plan to do.

Secretary Rusk: In my meeting with the House Foreign Affairs Committee this morning, they were outraged at the action by the North Koreans. They realize it is a very serious matter. They were understanding and were not pushing any particular course of action.

The President: What other ways are there for us to find out more about exactly what happened?

General Wheeler: We will receive additional information for continued research by NSA on intercepts. In addition we will learn more from statements by the North Koreans and the Soviets.

Leonard Marks: From North Korean press reports, it is obvious they are trying to create the following impressions:

1. They want to create fear among the South Koreans.
2. They are trying to create the impression that increased infiltration will take place.
3. They are making very flat statements about this being a "spy boat" which was carrying on hostile actions.

Richard Helms: I would agree with what has been said. This appears to be an effort by North Korea to support the North Vietnamese in their efforts. They want to distract attention from Vietnam.

The President: They may also want to detain the Carrier Enterprise.

The President then read the Reuters wire account of an alleged confession by Commander L.M. Bucher, Captain of the Pueblo. The text of alleged confession is attached at Appendix A.

Secretary Rusk: We should analyze the tapes to determine if this is Bucher. I frankly do not see how they could get a U.S. Navy Commander to make statements like that.

The President: Look very closely at this record.

(General Wheeler and Secretary McNamara said this was being done.)

Secretary McNamara: It is important to remember that we did not know where this ship was prior to the time of this incident. Our best reports are that the ship was outside of territorial waters.

The President: Is there much chance of error?

Secretary McNamara: Admiral Moorer, Chief of Naval Operations, said there is less than 1% chance of error in daylight conditions such as existed at the time. The radio intercepts of the North Korean craft placed them in the same area reported by the Pueblo: that was between 15-1/2 and 17-1/2 miles from shore.

Richard Helms: Our fix is 15-1/2 to 17. Both of these figures are outside of territorial waters.

Secretary McNamara: The ship did destroy some of its classified equipment. We do know that not all classified equipment was destroyed.

The President: How much of a problem does that create for us?

Secretary McNamara: This is much less of a problem than the diplomatic problems and the prestige.

Walt Rostow: The confession by the Captain appears to have been written by the Soviets. This is not the language of an American ship captain. The Soviets may have had a hand in drafting it.

Secretary McNamara: The impression that the Soviets were informed in advance is supported by their actions in Moscow. When Ambassador Thompson went to the Soviets, he received a Soviet position on this quite promptly. It is unlikely that the Soviets could have reached [received] the information about the incident, conferred about it, and then taken a position so quickly without advance knowledge that the incident was to take place.

Richard Helms: This is a very serious matter. It appears the North Koreans are doing this in support of the North Vietnamese against us. It looks, at this time, like collusion between the North Koreans and the Soviets. It appears to be another attempt to divert us from our efforts in Vietnam.

Last August, the Polish Military Mission went to North Korea. It was learned [less than 1 line of source text not declassified] that the North Koreans have sent 30 pilots to North Vietnam. They also gave the North Vietnamese 10 MIG-21's. North Korea wants to do all it can to help the North Vietnamese. In addition, they want to keep the ROK from sending more troops to assist the South Vietnamese.

[less than 1 line of source text not declassified] said the Soviets are putting pressure on North Korea to take some of the pressure off Vietnam. They advised that 2500 North Korean officers have been trained for sabotage and terrorism in South Korea.

The President: Would not it be wise now that we have definite information where the incident occurred to tell Senator Fulbright so that he will be more responsible about his statements?

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DOCUMENT No. 47

[Source:e: National Archives and Records Administration, RG 59, Central Files 1967-69, POL 33-6 KOR N-US. Secret; Flash; Exdis.]

Telegram from the Embassy in Korea to the Department of State/1/
Seoul, January 24, 1968, 2105Z.

3600. From Ambassador Porter. Ref: State 103652

1. General dearth of hard info on North Korea here makes it difficult to judge NK motivations and interests. In case of *Pueblo*, it is more difficult for us to make judgment [sic] since we do not know how long *Pueblo* was in area and what its actions and equipment were.

2. *Pueblo* incident and Blue House raid are clearly related. Once Seoul raid had been successfully carried out, North Koreans, uncertain of what actions we and ROKs might take, may have desired to remove major source of information on their own countermeasures. In so doing, North Koreans may well have had Israeli action against USS *Liberty* in mind. Although there has been some speculation that action was taken to provide KPA with major "victory" for

its 20th anniversary February[sic] 8, it seems unlikely to us that North Koreans would have taken such grave risk for propaganda purposes alone.

3. While timing of *Pueblo* seizure is related to Seoul raid, there is complex of reasons why NK would undertake both. In this, Vietnam plays central role. Kim Il-Sung has long advocated greater Communist assistance to NVN and his latest pronouncement, calling for "more positive actions" to aid Hanoi, was carried by AP on Jan 18. At time when all aspects of Vietnam struggle are intensifying, NK leadership may well have felt that they could make no greater contribution to Communist cause and to their own purposes in Korea than to take bold actions designed to reduce support in ROK for augmented or even continued participation in Vietnam, to take advantage of current political difficulties of and to further reduce public confidence in Pak govt, and to shake mutual confidence between U.S. and ROK. Bold action could also, of course, create a diversion in Korean peninsula and force U.S. to divert military resources from Vietnam effort and stimulate additional domestic and overseas pressures against U.S. Asian policy.

4. Forecasting NK actions is risky game. Certainly their past conduct in refusing to release our helicopter in 1965 and returning pilots only after lengthy negotiation, plus their pattern of treatment of ROK fishermen, gives no ground for optimism that they will react favorably by releasing vessel and crew immediately. We are more inclined to believe that they will attempt to exploit their possession of ship and crew to maximum extent from both technical and propaganda points of view. After these purposes have been ably served, they will probably return crew, but under conditions of considerable humiliation to U.S.

5. Although activities of past few days may cause them to proceed with caution, we can expect North Koreans to continue to carry out their basic plan for increased subversive effort against ROK this year, especially if they are not penalized in some way for these two coups. Their propaganda is attempting to make it appear that major revolt is already sweeping South, which they must sustain by action.

6. NK will not permit any action by us to go unchallenged. They seem confident and sure of themselves and appear convinced that we have neither capability nor determination to deal with them while so heavily engaged in Vietnam.

Porter

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DOCUMENT No. 48

[Source: PoIA AA, MfAA, G-A 360. Obtained for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer and translated for NKIDP by Karen Riechert.]

GDR Embassy to DPRK
Pyongyang, 27 January 1968

Memorandum on a
Conversation with the Polish Ambassador, Comrade Naperei, on 26 January 1968 in the Polish
Embassy

The appointment was arranged by mutual initiative.

I first informed Comrade Naperei about the statements made by Comrade Pak Seongcheol when I handed over the letter by Comrade Ulbricht (without references to the content of the letter).

Comrade Naperei delivered his assessment of the situation as being extraordinarily dangerous. 'If the DPRK does not accede to U.S. demands to return its ship and crew, we might witness an armed conflict here.'

It is known through the members of the commission in Panmunjeom that the United States has relocated two squadrons of F-105 aircraft from Okinawa to South Korea. By noon on January 26, 19 men from the 31-person commando group planning to stage the attack in Seoul have been killed and two captured. Of those two prisoners one killed himself and the surrounding policemen with a hand grenade. The Polish commission members have informed the Polish Embassy that there are continuous attempts to send new commandos into South Korean territory.

Polish officers serving with the commission constantly travel by train between Panmunjeom and Pyongyang. They noticed that almost every train arrives with considerable delay here in Pyongyang and that many freight trains travel southward.

Furthermore, the Polish Ambassador informed that the Swiss representative in the Neutral Commission has approached the heads of the Czechoslovak and Polish part of the commission to inform them about his conversation with General Friedmann (Chief of Staff of the 8th U.S. Army deployed in South Korea). Friedmann stated the U.S. is willing to retaliate if the DPRK takes steps indicating that they are going to launch an armed conflict. The U.S. will not back down from its demands for the return of its ship and crew. As a member of the Neutral Commission, the Swiss representative asked the Czechoslovak and Polish comrades to inform their embassies and transmit the U.S. position to the [North] Koreans. The Swiss delegate said he is taking this step to contribute towards the preservation of peace in Korea.

Comrade Naperei also informed that the United States has approached all members of the Neutral Commission and asked for their support to receive from the [North] Korean side a list of names of *Pueblo* crew members with details about those wounded and killed.

If the DPRK will tell the members of the commission in preparation for the next meeting [in Panmunjeom] that this constitutes an exclusive matter between DPRK and the U.S., the Czechoslovak and Polish commission members will try to find a clause in the Neutral Commission's statute providing the option for a legal argument to define the American request not as part of the commission's duties. If the DPRK will take a different position, all four members of the commission will sign the U.S. request letter and forward it to the DPRK.

Note: I heard from the CSSR Ambassador that the next commission meeting will take place no earlier than 30 January 1968.

Jarck
Acting Ambassador

CC
1x Comrade Schneidewind (Foreign Ministry)
1x Embassy/Secretariate

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 49

[Source: Czech Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Adolf Kotlik]

No. 016/68
Pyongyang, 28 January 1968

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Classified
3. Territorial Department
By courier!

Declassified per file no. 267.261/2001- OZÚ (OZÚ = Section for Special Assignments]
Date: 22 May 2001
Processed by: (initial illegible)

Information about the Incident with the Ship *Pueblo*

Political Report No. 10
Written by: B. Schindler
7 x

P r a g u e

On January 23rd, 1968, naval vessels of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea intercepted an American ship, the *Pueblo*, which weighed about 1,000 tones. According to the information from the DPRK (including the published confession of the captain of the ship), this ship is equipped as an oceanographic vessel, but its main mission was to spy.

According to the information from the DPRK, the ship *Pueblo* was intercepted in the territorial waters of the DPRK in the area of the Eastern Korean Bay at the point of 39 degrees 17 minutes

4 seconds of northern latitude and 127 degrees 46 minutes 9 seconds of eastern longitude. According to these reports, the ship was intercepted 7.6 miles from the small island of Jodo in the vicinity of the port town of Wonsan along the eastern coast of the DPRK.

The Deputy Kim Jaebong, who briefed the ambassador to the DPRK on January 23rd, in agreement with the DPRK press, stated the following: The ship of about a thousand tons was armed and was carrying a total of 83 armed persons: 6 officers, 75 sailors, and 2 members of technical personnel. The latter were identified as CIA operatives. It was published that one crewmember was killed when the DPRK ships approached *Pueblo* and that three were injured, one of them seriously. As for the weaponry, the ship was equipped with an anti-aircraft machine gun, tens of thousands of hand grenades and other military material. According to these reports, the ship was equipped with special electronics for radio-surveillance and locating radars.

Some other information: According to the DPRK press, the Captain of the ship, Lloyd Mark Bucher, military number 58215401, born in Pocatello, Idaho, USA, admitted to spy activities and also stated that *Pueblo* belonged to the Pacific Navy and that it was on a special mission from the CIA. According to Bucher's testimony, on December 2nd 1967, *Pueblo* received orders in the Japanese port of Sasebo from Rear Admiral Frank A. Johnson, commander of the U.S. Navy in Japan, to carry out military reconnaissance in the Soviet littoral and in the area of the eastern coast of the DPRK. As per testimony published in the DPRK, Bucher said that his ship has carried out similar activities in territorial waters of other socialist countries, with special emphasis on reconnaissance of these waters in order to gather information about military installations located along the coast of socialist countries. The collected data was passed on to the CIA. The ship was to operate under the cover of oceanographic research on the opened sea, examination of electric and magnetic phenomena, and so on. Bucher said that *Pueblo* explored the far eastern coast of the USSR and then, on January 16th 1968, arrived in the DPRK waters where, in the area of Cheongjin, Wonsan and elsewhere, data was secretly collected about the depth of coastal waters, water currents, water temperature, quality of the sea bottom, translucency and salt concentration of water, location of DPRK radars, capacity of ports, number of departing and arriving ships and maneuvering capabilities of military ships of the Korean People's Army (KPA).

According to Bucher's published testimony, *Pueblo* opened fire on the approaching patrol boats of the KPA (South Korean news also mentioned two fighter jets, MIG, and the deputy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Heo Seoktae allegedly said that the military vessels of the KPA approached *Pueblo* from the open sea, thus cutting off its way to retreat) but when the situation became critical for *Pueblo*, and one sailor was killed and three injured, one of them seriously, *Pueblo* surrendered, as per Bucher's testimony.

In his confession published in the DPRK, Bucher stated that he was aware it was a criminal act, violation of the Ceasefire Agreement, and that the operation of his ship was of aggressive nature from the beginning to the end.

Bucher also said "the ship was not flying the U.S. flag in order to keep ship's operation secret" ... "the crime my sailors and I committed cannot be redeemed in any way."

South Korean news reacted very quickly to the *Pueblo* detention, and the South Korean high command put the South Korean Navy on alert immediately after the report that the nuclear aircraft carrier *Enterprise* was on its way to the area. However, as it appears from some other news from South Korea and Tokyo, the U.S. has not accepted the South Korean offer yet and, so far, is trying to resolve the matter on its own. Some other uncorroborated news from South Korea talked about U.S. nuclear submarines, headed by the *Polaris*, supposedly coming to the area around Wonsan. On the other hand, South Korea aired reports about the movements of KPA submarines in the area of Wonsan. Also, ships from the USSR were mentioned twice – the first report described movements of a Soviet tanker and a destroyer which at the time the *Pueblo* was detained were in the vicinity and allegedly changed course to the east towards the Tsushima [Ulleung] Basin. South Korean news talked about some meetings in South Korea, concerning these two Soviet ships. Another South Korean report talked about two Soviet military ships that, on 26th January, were allegedly approaching the Wonsan area from the north but changed direction suddenly and sailed back to Vladivostok.

Besides reports of the ship's detention, articles connecting the incursion of the *Pueblo* into DPRK waters with the heightened U.S. efforts to ignite a new war in Korea, the confession of Captain Bucher and news about a press conference for newspaper and radio journalists held at an undisclosed location, the daily press has not published any international reaction to this incident. On the other hand, the confidential monitor CTAK was closely following reaction in America to the detention of *Pueblo*, and reports about the efforts of the American ambassador in Moscow to secure the mediation of the USSR in this matter. However, daily news did not even reprint the reaction of TaSS (USSR Press Agency) to the incident with *Pueblo*.

As it became clear from the discussion between the Hungarian ambassador to the DPRK Kadesh and the deputy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Heo Seoktae, the DPRK disagrees in principle that the UN Security Council should deal with this problem; on the other hand, Heo Seoktae conveyed to the Hungarian dignitary the decision of the DPRK government to attend the UN Security Council meeting if there are conditions for that and should South Korea and the U.S. badmouth the DPRK there, which (part of sentence not copied) the DPRK to the UN.

As shown in the reply of the Major General Pak Jungguk to Admiral Smith, the DPRK is willing to negotiate the issues of *Pueblo* through the military commission for ceasefire in Korea with the provision that DKNS (acronym unknown) in this matter is inappropriate.

Reports about the continuing concentration of military arsenals and units north of the Demilitarized Zone, the ongoing evacuation of civilians from the capital of the DPRK, together with the decision of the DPRK Ministry of Foreign Affairs to not to allow foreigners to leave Pyongyang, create very high tension. If we take into account the concentration of the South Korean forces not only as a consequence of the Seoul incident on 21st January and unverified reports of KPA jets making patrol flights over the Demilitarized Zone and the area of Wonsan, it is understandable that the *Pueblo* problem is beginning to outgrow the context of the Korean Peninsula and is becoming one of the new serious problems that can have very serious consequences sooner or later.

Ambassador:
(Holub)

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 50

Telegram from the Embassy in Korea to the Department of State
Seoul, January 28, 1968, 0923Z.

3706. Country Team Message. Ref: (A) State 106065;(B) State 106066; (C) State 106070; (D) USFK Message UK-50285 DTG 261115Z.

1. We deeply concerned over adverse impact procedure suggested Refs (A) and (B) would have on US/ROK relations. As we have reported, ROKs from President on down are convinced that our actions and statements since *Pueblo* incident simply do not recognize extreme gravity of threat to internal security and political position of ROKG represented by Blue House raid and North Korean determination to increase subversive effort.

2. We have not informed ROKG of exchange between ourselves and North Korea through NNSC members. Despite security precautions we cannot keep this from them for very long. We have already received anguished approach from Foreign Ministry voicing suspicion that we are attempting to contact NK directly at other locations, notably Warsaw, and that we therefore intend to confine negotiations to retrieval of *Pueblo* and crew. We have ample evidence that suspicions are also growing at highest levels that once we succeed in obtaining release of ship and crew, we will withdraw force augmentations and leave ROK problem in status quo ante *Pueblo* with no improvement in President Park's political or security problems. We have had broad hints that ROKs are talking among themselves of possible withdrawal ROK armed forces from operational control CINCUNC and, because of concern over reopening of hostilities here, return of ROK troops from Vietnam. We do not believe they are serious, but fact that senior ROKs imply such consideration is indicative of psychological climate we must deal with here. Should ROKs learn that we have requested meeting of senior members MAC solely to discuss *Pueblo* incident, as suggested Refs (A) and (B), without parallel effort on intrusion problem, results could be explosive.

3. Moreover, whatever subject matter, believe it would be highly inadvisable to express willingness to hold open MAC meeting. Presence of press and other witnesses at open meeting would impel Pak to put on propaganda show and attempt to place US in most humiliating light possible.

4. Accordingly, urgently request we be authorized to follow procedure outlined below:

(A) Immediately send KPA/CPV senior member first four paras of reply contained Ref (A) plus para 5 ending after words "joint duty officers." Such reply is currently being translated and prepositioned for immediate delivery by secure means. By limiting this reply to request for

information on condition of crew members, we would also provide NNSC opportunity to follow through with letter they suggested to us yesterday (Seoul 3697).

(B) Ambassador will seek soonest possible appointment with President Park to inform him of dealings which have already taken place through NNSC and of request for information on crew by senior member UNCMAC. Ambassador will state that senior member UNCMAC is also requesting a private senior member meeting to discuss problem of obtaining release of *Pueblo* and crew and to impress on North Koreans in most forceful terms gravity of situation posed by continuing North Korean infiltration. If President insists that UNCMAC senior member demand guarantee from North Korea that there will be no further intrusion, Ambassador will respond that it probably impossible to obtain. However, to ease President's very real concerns, request Ambassador be authorized if necessary to inform him that USG will do following:

(1) Retain substantial proportion of force augmentation in and near Korea until such time as developments indicate infiltration threat and its attendant political and psychological problems materially lessened.

(2) To provide tangible evidence that we are doing something directly for the ROKs, USG will airlift available CIGCOREP items as requested in Ref (D), which USFK is passing separately directly to Dept.

(3) Acknowledge firm commitment on spring delivery first destroyer, which heretofore [sic] has been tied to additional dispatch of ROK troops to Vietnam. We are under no illusions that these items, if agreed, would entirely eliminate pressures on US arising from Park's internal political position. They may ease pressures for time being, however, if carefully publicized.

(C) Senior member UNCMAC will then send separate message to senior member

r KPA/CPV side requesting private senior member to senior member MAC meeting. Request update guidance contained Ref (B).

4. Ambassador will raise problem of ROK attendance at UNSC (Ref C) at time he makes approach mentioned para 4(B) above.

Porter

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 51

[Source: AVPRF, f. 102, op. 28, pap. 55, d. 2. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko and translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg]

From the Journal

30 January 1968

Record of a conversation with Canadian Ambassador to the USSR R. Ford

29 January 1968

I received Ford at his request.

Referring to the instructions of his government, the Ambassador raised the issue of the detention of the American ship by the DPRK. He said that the Canadians know about the mood and trends in Washington better than anyone. In connection with this incident, the Canadian government is seriously concerned that the U.S. Congress and the American public are beginning to put ever-growing pressure on President Johnson for him to make a decision about a retaliatory attack. It is quite evident to the Government of Canada, Ford continued, that the release of the ship and its crew are absolutely necessary for talks to begin to settle this entire issue. Regardless of the statements made by both sides, whether the ship was seized in territorial or international waters, the Ambassador stressed that it is necessary to release the ship's crew if only for humane reasons. Regardless of the legal aspect of the matter, right now, it is politically important to do something for the release the ship and its crew. In this event, the U.S. will be ready, so they understand in Canada, to agree to the creation of a special international commission to investigate and settle this incident and possibly make compensation for material damages if the commission recognizes this to be necessary. Considering the dangerous situation which has been created, the Canadians would like to discuss this issue with the Soviets in order to prevent a worsening of the situation in this region of the world. In this regard, the Ambassador was interested in any possible ideas from the Soviets about how the tension could be eliminated and whether the Soviet government could make the settlement of the incident easier. To assist in the investigation at the site where the incident occurred, the Canadians have already, unofficially, proposed sending an intermediary to Pyongyang, who could act as a representative of either the UN Secretary General or the Security Council or in some other capacity.

In expressing these ideas, the Ambassador noted that he was not speaking on behalf of the U.S., but, as they understand in Canada, the Americans would be ready to agree to this.

I promised to report to the Minister about the ideas that the Ambassador expressed. I said that the USSR could not take on itself the role of an intermediary in settling this incident. The DPRK is an independent and sovereign country and the U.S. should deal directly with the DPRK. The substance of the incident is that the U.S. violated the norms of international law: the American ship was detained in the territorial waters of the DPRK and not in international waters as the Americans are asserting. In regards to the Canadians' concern about what sort of pressure there is on Johnson, the problem is not that pressure is being put on the President of the United States but that the U.S. itself is using the method of pressure and threats with regard to the DPRK. The Canadian government also ought to know well both Johnson's statements and the measures that he has adopted in order to apply such pressure on the DPRK (calling up reservists, sending naval forces to the shores of the DPRK, and others). However, it will be impossible to settle the incident with the uproar, threats, and pressure that is being artificially fanned in America, and the U.S., on whom rests the entire responsibility for the incident, should soberly assess the situation

to find an opportunity for a settlement by customary means on the basis of respect for the DPRK's sovereign rights, thereby abandoning the use of the method of pressure. From the ideas described by Ford, it follows that Canada essentially supports the position of the Americans when he says that it is first necessary to release the ship and the crew and then investigate all other issues connected with the incident. A settlement can hardly be achieved on such a basis.

The Ambassador stressed that Canada does not always automatically share the point of view of the Americans, especially regarding their actions in military issues. In accordance with the available information at this time, though the American intelligence ship was actually detained in international waters, one can speculate that it really had been in the DPRK's territorial waters, which is, of course, inexcusable. But even in this event, it is necessary to settle the incident as quickly as possible. According to the assessments of the Canadians, Ford stressed, a dangerous situation has been created, and in Washington, pressure is growing sharply in favor of a military solution to the incident. These sentiments are growing stronger inasmuch as in the last six months, numerous provocative incidents have taken place in Korea. In regards to Canada, it is a peace loving country, and its actions are completely dictated by a concern for maintaining peace and reducing international tension and by a desire to prevent the dangerous consequences of developing events.

In connection with this comment made by Ford, I pointed out that attempts to place the blame on the DPRK for the situation in Korea are directed at deceiving the world public opinion. Everyone knows that provocative acts are being made against the DPRK and that the presence of American troops in South Korea is the reason for the situation in this region.

If they are really inclined in the U.S. to settle this incident by military means, then it will be the worse for the U.S. They would thus, again, reveal themselves before the entire world as aggressors. The Canadian government would be doing a useful thing if it advised the U.S. not to give in to emotion and not to inflame the situation and, rather, realistically assess this issue on the basis of respect for the sovereign rights of the DPRK. Such a decision would meet the interests of peace, and it would be in the interests of all countries.

The Ambassador noted that, in principle, he agrees with this; however, right now, it is important to settle the incident as soon as possible. In connection to this, he was interested in whether, for example, such a measure as the withdrawal of the aircraft carrier *Eisenhower* and other American warships from the area of the incident would help. [I] again stressed that it is important, right now, not to inflame the situation but to abandon pressuring the DPRK and facilitate the establishment of a quiet atmosphere in which it would be easier to settle the incident by the customary ways and means accepted in international practice.

Ye. N. Makeyev, Deputy Chief of the Second European Department, and Third Secretary of the Department V. I. Dolgov were present at the conversation.

DEPUTY USSR MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

/signature/

(S. Kozyrev)

[reverse side] Distributed to:

Cdes. Gromyko, Kuznetsov, Vinogradov, Il'ichev, Kozyrev, Orlov, Semenov, Firyubin, Blatov, Zhukov, Zamyatin, Zemskov, Kovalev, Korniyenko, Likhachev, Novikov, and Falin.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 52

[Source: AVPRF, fond 102, opis 28, papka 55, delo 2. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko]

“31” January 1968

N 129 / GS-NS

Record of a Conversation between A.A. Gromyko and Charge D’Affaires of the DPRK in the USSR Kang Cheoljin

Kang Cheoljin, having repeated the statement of the DPRK Government dated January 27, 1968 in connection with the capture of the American spy ship *Pueblo* by the DPRK coast guard, passed over the text of the statement and expressed his hope that the Soviet Government will support the position of the DPRK government in regards to the capture of the American ship.

A.A. Gromyko replied that the Soviet Union has already taken a series of measures in support of the [North?] Korean friends. When approached by the Americans, the Soviet Union firmly declared that any pressure on the DPRK on the part of the U.S. is unacceptable. The Soviet representative in the Security Council spoke out resolutely in support of the position of the DPRK government. The Soviet ambassador in Pyongyang informed Comrade Kim Il Sung about all the measures that had been taken.

A.A. Gromyko asked Comrade Kang Cheoljin to explain how the Soviet side could use the copies of the confession by the captain of the *Pueblo* and the tape recording of his statement provided by the [North?] Korean comrades. Wide circulation of these materials would help expose the U.S. position.

Kang Cheoljin promised to clear up this question in Pyongyang and make a reply. He asked about the prospects of discussing the question of the *Pueblo* in the Security Council.

A.A. Gromyko replied that one should not expect the Security Council to make a mutually acceptable decision. Probably, the veto will be used. Some members of the Council, in particular, representatives of the Afro-Asian countries (Algeria, Ethiopia, India, Pakistan, Senegal) may take certain measures in the direction of settling the conflict between the U.S. and the DPRK. The Afro-Asians pay the greatest attention to the possibility of providing good will service or mediation in this or that form on either U Thant’s part or his special representative or

themselves, the Afro-Asian members of the Council. However, one could not say anything concrete about this at the moment.

Comrade Kang Cheoljin asked us to continue informing him in the future about the work of the Security Council, and, in particular, about the possible steps by the Afro-Asian members of the Council.

The meeting was attended by the Deputy Head of the FED [Far Eastern Department] A.I. Elizavetin, Second Secretary of the FED Yu. D. Fadeev, Second Secretary of the Embassy of the DPRK Comrade Son Jeongmo and interpreter Comrade Kim Ham.

Correct: [Signature]

Sent to:
Comrades Gromyko
Kuznetsov
DVO
OMO
file

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 53

[Source: PoIA AA, MfAA, G-A 360. Obtained for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer and translated for NKIDP by Karen Riechert]

GDR Embassy to DPRK
Pyongyang, 01 February 1968

Memorandum

on a Conversation with the First Secretary of the CSSR Embassy, Comrade Horshenevski, on 30 January 1968 between 15:00 and 15:40 hours

The conversation was arranged following a suggestion from the Czechoslovak side.

At the beginning, we talked about the current situation. Both sides agreed that currently there are no indications whatsoever of further escalation - if one ignores the war-mongering propaganda of many Western press publications. In this context, Comrade Horshenevski mentioned that there are some new developments in Panmunjeom. He himself has not been fully informed yet. However, Ambassador Holub intends to join our meeting and provide the latest news. Around 15:20 hours, Comrade Holub joined us and reported the following:

On 29 January, General Pak Jungguk received at 16:30 hours CSSR General Toman (head of the CSSR delegation in the Neutral Commission) and the acting head of the Polish delegation, General Jaroszinski. He informed them both about the DPRK government's declaration of 27 January. Hereby, he frequently mentioned an incident from 1963 when an American spy plane was shot down over DPRK territory. Comrade Pak emphasized that back then the United States apologized before the bodies of the dead crew were returned.

On 29 January, Counter Admiral Smith sent a letter to General Pak. It expressed the following thoughts:

I received the information you transmitted through the members of the Neutral Commission. As my response to your questions, I refer to the television speech by President Johnson from 26 January where he clearly stated our position regarding the ship *Pueblo* and its crew. The crew of this vessel consists of sailors and officers of the U.S. Navy and two specialists from the hydrographic service. This ship is part of the American war navy. Accordingly, its crew is protected by the Geneva Conventions from 1949 signed also by you, the DPRK. I have noted, with relief, how it was possible to receive information through unofficial channels that the crew is doing fine, the wounded receive medical attention, and the body of the killed individual is preserved. You also told me that a direct contact is possible. Therefore, I request to be told as soon as possible the names of the wounded and killed people from the *Pueblo* crew. In addition, I request a meeting of the heads of the armistice commission from both sides.

At around 9:00 hours on 30 January, Counter Admiral Smith forwarded another letter to General Pak Jungguk. The content of this letter is as follows:

In order to achieve progress in solving the problem of interest to both sides, I propose an immediate meeting by the heads of the armistice commission from both sides. I propose to hold it as a for-eyes-only meeting with only one translator from each side present. If the Korean side prefers to have one additional officer from each side around, we will have no objections to that. It must be arranged, however, that those [additional officers] do not sit at the negotiation table. I ask for your response.

Moreover, Smith stated in his letter that he believes there will be better results if the private meeting is held with translators only. If the Korean side, the letter continues, prefers, however, to hold an official meeting of the armistice commission, I am ready to participate. If there will be only a private meeting of the heads of the armistice commission, this meeting should take place in the meeting rooms of the Neutral Commission in case the members of this commission agree. Finally, Counter Admiral Smith wrote that he is fully aware not to expect an immediate response to his letter. However, he is asking to keep the delay between the transmission of this letter and the response as short as possible.

Comrade Holub stated that the members of the Czechoslovak group in the Neutral Commission interpret this letter as a further element towards a peaceful solution of the conflict. He applied the perspective that the American side has de facto agreed to the proposal to define the members of the ship crew as prisoners of war. The United States has also accepted the [North?] Korean proposal to hold direct talks about these issues.

In case there is new information coming out of Panmunjeom, we agreed to meet again on 31 January.

Jarck
Acting Ambassador

CC

1x State Secretary Hegen (Foreign Ministry)
1x Comrade Markowski (Central Committee)
1x Embassy/Secretariat

On 1 February, I was informed by the First Secretary of the CSSR Embassy that General Pak told Smith he agrees to a private meeting, with one translator and one additional officer each from both sides to be present as well.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 54

[Source: MfAA C 1023/73. Obtained for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer and translated for NKIDP by Karen Riechert]

Embassy of the GDR in the DPRK, Pyongyang
2 February 1968
stamped: confidential matter

Memorandum on Information of 1 February 1968

On the day the *Pueblo* had been seized, there was no light in North Korea in the evening, for they were obviously afraid of serious consequences. Ever since there have been jets in the air. Massive defense forces are concentrated in the harbor area. Although we believe the situation is already being stabilized, there are rumors that people still expect the outbreak of a war. According to public talk, in the event that South Korea should not attack, the DPRK would be required to do it. The situation should be ripe for that. A clear indication would be that workers in South Korea had risen up for an armed struggle. There was much talk in this context about the DPRK possessing nuclear weapons. People are said to be convinced, that in case of war, the Soviet Union would fight on the side of the DPRK using nuclear weapons. China would also do so because the *Pueblo* had invaded the territorial waters of the DPRK, and China would take sides in the wake of such an outrageous provocation.

A relative, who had already been called to the mountains for several months in the summer to dig bunkers, is said to have been assigned there again. Recently, the militias have exercises every Saturday and Sunday in larger groups, whereby they practice in particular long marches. All Koreans, starting at the age of five, have to carry their necessities in a backpack all the time.

[...]

Signed: Herrmann

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 55

[Source: AVPRF. f. 102, op. 28, pap. 55, d. 2. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko and translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg]

From the Journal of S. P. Kozyrev
2 February 1968
N° 140/GS-ns

Record of a Conversation with Canadian Ambassador to the USSR R. Ford

2 February 1968

I received Ford at his request.

Referring to our conversation of 28 January about the detention of the American ship by the DPRK, Ford said that he would like to continue the discussion of this issue. If he correctly understood the point of view of the Soviet side, it basically comes down to the following: 1) the U.S. should not yield to emotion and should examine the issues associated with this incident in a calm business-like atmosphere; 2) the U.S. should abandon the threat to use force in order to settle the incident; 3) there should be direct talks about this issue between the Americans and the North Koreans; 4) it is necessary to eliminate the fever of propaganda and the campaign and uproar around the discussion of this matter in the Security Council.

The Ambassador noted that the government of Canada is grateful with respect to these ideas and, for its part, has used its influence both in Washington and New York for the quickest possible settlement of the incident by customary peaceful means. At the present time, it seems that there is an opportunity to begin direct talks between the Americans and the North Koreans within the framework of the Armistice Observation Commission [Translator's note: SIC, probably the Military Armistice Commission] in Korea, and this opportunity ought not be lost.

Ford then reported that the Canadian government was especially interested in the Americans purpose in sending the aircraft carrier *Eisenhower* and other American warships to the shores of the DPRK. The Americans, in the Ambassador's words, replied in the sense that the interested sides themselves can determine with what purpose the American ships were sent to this region, especially since the *Eisenhower* is located 290 miles from Busan and not Wonsan, which substantially changes the matter.

The Ambassador noted that the Soviet side, of course, cannot verify the reliability of this information and expressed a desire to hear possible additional views of the Soviet side with respect to the prospects for settling the incident with the American ship *Pueblo*.

I promised to report to the Minister about the ideas expressed by the Ambassador.

I, then, said that the position of the Soviet Union regarding the incident was described in detail during the last conversation.

In regards to the Ambassador's comment about American attempts to discuss this issue in the Security Council, the Soviet Union has always opposed and does oppose putting the Korean issue on the Security Council's agenda. Right now the issue concerning this incident is about reasons of principle and not just about promoting the spreading uproar around the incident with the *Pueblo*, which has begun in the U.S. I expressed satisfaction with the favorable attitude of the Canadian government toward the position of the Soviet Union in regards to the issue about the *Pueblo* incident and the efforts undertaken by Canada in order to settle this incident with the methods which are customary and generally accepted in international practice. I stressed the importance of settling this question through direct talks between the interested countries, that is, between the U.S. and the DPRK.

In regards to the aircraft carrier *Eisenhower* and the other American warships, they were undoubtedly sent to the shores of [North] Korea with the object of placing pressure on the DPRK. The transfer of combat aircrafts to South Korea is being done for these same purposes. It stands to reason that the DPRK will not agree to a settlement under the threat of a use of force or pressure in any form whatsoever.

Having noted that he was expressing his personal opinion, Ford tried to make a link between the latest serious attacks against the Americans by South Vietnamese patriots and the incident with the ship *Pueblo*. Personally he, the Ambassador, does not believe that such a connection exists, but if it does, this undoubtedly complicates the position of the Americans and, in particular, the withdrawal of their troops from Korea. The Ambassador was then interested in whether talks between the [North] Koreans and the Americans would lead to positive results.

I replied that there really is a connection between the events in Vietnam and Korea in the sense that the U.S. is pursuing the same policy of aggression and interference in the internal affairs of Vietnam, Korea, and other countries. The Americans love to talk of their desire for peace and an easing of tensions; however, the facts and their deeds are evidence of the opposite. The U.S. does not want to withdraw its troops from Korea and other countries and continues its provocative acts against the people of these countries, leading to a worsening of the situation. The Canadian government knows very well the point of settlement of the Soviet side with regard to U.S. foreign policy. In regards to the actions of the South Vietnamese patriots, we understand these actions, for no one can live under the bayonets of occupiers.

I told the Ambassador about a statement made by a senior DPRK leader, in which he clearly said that the DPRK government is not willing to talk with the U.S. under pressure or threats but will be ready to talk with the Americans if they want a settlement by the customary means accepted in international practice. In this event, it is the U.S. which is violating international law and the sovereignty of the DPRK, and it ought to take steps in the direction of settling this matter. The ball is now in their court.

In connection with the Ambassador's statement with regard to a so-called stage-by-stage solution of the problems in this region, namely, first settling the *Pueblo* incident and then the Vietnamese problem, I said that here, too, everything depends on the U.S. and its approaches to these problems. If the U.S. really wants a peaceful settlement of these problems, then they ought to act in a different manner. However, their words about a desire for peace do not match their deeds. Instead of settling the *Pueblo* incident by customary peaceful means, the U.S. has begun to concentrate its naval forces along the shores of [North] Korea and has increased its air forces in South Korea, thereby aggravating the already tense situation in this region further. The Americans are pursuing the same policy in Vietnam. Not without reason, a few days ago P[aul] Martin, the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, called the U.S. position with respect to settling the Vietnam conflict "inflexible!" However, Martin is evidently conscientiously mistaken, for the Americans, judging from everything, are not trying to settle this problem at all but are pushing the matter toward a further escalation of the war. They are refusing to stop the bombing and other military actions against the DRV and are ignoring the proposals of the DRV and NFOYuV [National Front for the Liberation of Vietnam] with regard to ways to peacefully settle the Vietnam problem.

The Ambassador thanked [me] for the explanations.

Ye. N. Makeyev, Deputy Chief of the Second European Department, and V. I. Dolgov, Third Secretary of the Department, were present at the conversation.

DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (S. Kozyrev)

Send to CPSU CC Politburo members and candidate members

27 February 1968. A. Gromyko

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 56

[Source: Johnson Library, National Security File, Country File, Korea--Pueblo Incident--Cactus II, Cactus Seoul Cables, January 29, 1968 to February 9, 1968. Secret; Flash; Nodis; Cactus.]

U.S. Embassy in Korea to U.S. Department of State
Seoul, 2 February 1968, 0741Z.

Telegram Summarizing MAC Senior Members Meeting held at Panmunjeom between 1100-1158 hrs local, February 2, 1968

Full text follows septel.

2. *Begin Summary.* RAdm Smith opened with brief prepared statement. Said he had called meeting to discuss serious situation resulting from fact DPRK has possession *Pueblo* and crew. Said US position is that ship did not enter NK territorial waters until after it was seized and that crew committed no crime whatever. Recognized that US and NK positions differ. Said this situation completely without precedent. Stressed interests of both sides would be served by immediate return of crew and early return of ship to US custody. Expressed hope that meeting would result in agreement in principle on return of ship and crew as soon as physical arrangements can be completed.

3. In response to repeated demands from Pak that Smith say all he had to say, Smith made following additional points:

(A) Time would be saved if neither side mentioned confessions, admissions, punishments or apologies.

(B) Repeated several times that he had come to request return of ship and crew, names of wounded and dead.

(C) Explained at some length why *Pueblo* case is unprecedented and difference between it and helicopter incident. In accordance guidance received, pointing out that ship had violated no laws, that it was not under UNC command but was unit of US Pacific Fleet, and that there no violation to admit, as was case with helicopter.

(D) Set forth international law aspects in accordance guidance contained State 108367, emphasizing that even if *Pueblo* had been in NK waters, proper procedure would have been to escort it back to international waters as is practice followed between US and USSR.

4. As it became obvious Pak would not respond until he had exhausted efforts to draw Smith out, latter began insisting that Pak make statement to which he would reserve right to reply. Pak responded that *Pueblo* crew are aggressors and criminals dispatched to NK territorial waters for aggressive purpose as made clear by their confession. Stated that thanks to humanitarian measures of DPRK, wounded are receiving medical treatment, dead body of one crew member has been preserved, and all remaining members are in good health without any inconvenience. Said it unnecessary to cover up or explain away criminal act. Smith denied commission of criminal act, noting that ship had not fired back, had offered no resistance, had violated no law. Said "criminal act" could only be descriptive of North Korean actions.

5. After further exchange Smith asked Pak to suppose that KPA vehicle in JSA or other neutral area were suddenly seized by UNC, taken South, and its crew were made to confess that truck was South of DMZ. Said he supposed in such case North Koreans would wish to have truck back. Such situation was analogous way we feel about *Pueblo*.

6. Pak, after obvious pause for editing, then read prepared statement in which he said Smith had merely attempted cover up plain fact of aggression and that US had deliberately dispatched armed spy ship to NK territorial waters, which constitutes most flagrant violation of Armistice

Agreement. Claimed North Koreans have in their hands all the material and human evidence to prove US committed act of aggression. Said matter can in no way be solved by US proposal to meet solely for purpose of rejustifying criminal act. Said if US really wants to solve matter it must change stand and attitude in addressing subject.

7. Pak continued that "I have not yet been instructed" to inform US side of names of dead and wounded. He then concluded prepared statement by proposing recess this meeting and saying Smith "will be informed" of date for next meeting.

8. Smith rejoined that he could provide much more proof than he already given that ship was in international waters if such would be useful at this time. Pak rejected this offer and repeated Smith would be informed later of next meeting.

9. Comment follows.

Porter



DOCUMENT No. 57

[Source: Czech Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Adolf Kotlik.]

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of National Defense Ministry of the Interior to the KPCZ
CC Presidium and the Czechoslovak government

File no.: 020.873/68-3

4 February 1968

Information about the situation in Korea

Attachment III a/

Tension in the Far East has escalated seriously as of late in connection with the detention by the Korean People's Army patrol boats of the American spy ship *Pueblo* along the DPRK coast and in connection with armed actions of Korean patriots in South Korea. These events have brought the situation on the Korean Peninsula to a head and have threatened to create another center of military conflict in this area.

Development of the situation on the Korean Peninsula is characterized in the presented information.

I.

The main source and cause of persistent tension on the Korean Peninsula is the fact that Korea remains a divided country, and strong American and South Korean armies with state-of-the-art weapons are positioned in the South. This circumstance has a profound influence on all life in

the DPRK and is reflected in the political direction of the Korean Workers' Party. The leadership of the KWP is following with growing anxiety the development in South Korea where younger, more flexible state leadership has been able to bring the country [back] from the brink of total collapse after the fall of Syngman Rhee and has been successful in more-or-less stabilizing conditions in the country with the help of foreign capital, mainly from the U.S., Japan, and West Germany. It seems that this relative stabilization of the South Korean regime, accompanied by strong anti-communist propaganda and police terror, has paralyzed revolutionary sentiments in the country and is skillfully discrediting the authority of the DPRK and diminishing her influence among South Korean population. This is also somewhat supported lately by a more tactful behavior of U.S. troops towards the South Korean public. On the other hand, the initial political but mainly economic supremacy of the DPRK, still noticeable at the beginning of the 60's, has been gradually eroding due to economic stagnation, characteristic of the period of close cooperation of the DPRK with the PRC (People's Republic of China). With no less anxiety, the DPRK is following also the extensive foreign affairs and military activity of the South Korean regime, which is gaining international authority and sustaining and strengthening the positions of world imperialism in Asia, pointed mainly against socialist countries.

The latest development in South Korea is also connected with many visits in Seoul of representatives of world capitalism, culminating with the trip of President Johnson in 1966. Most of these visits contributed to the further stimulation of the South Korean economy, to the buildup and modernization of the South Korean army, and to the strengthening of "Asian-Oceanic Alliances" under the sponsorship of the U.S..

All this is increasing restlessness on the Korean Peninsula and diminishing chances for a peaceful unification of the country in the near future. The leadership of the DPRK is concerned about aggression from the South, and even expects it, and is preparing the Korean people for a unification of the country by an armed struggle of the Korean people.

This process in the policy of the KWP CC has taken shape during the last year. In the declaration of Kim Il Sung during the nationwide conference of the KWP in October 1966, a thesis was put forth that the unification of the country will be a long-term process requiring, mainly, the creation of a Marxist party in South Korea and establishing close cooperation with non-selective organizations. In conflict with that, the current doctrine of the KWP calls for a liberation of the southern part of the country by force as soon as the conditions are favorable. This new feature is manifested even in the slogan, coined in January 1967 by Kim Il Sung, about the necessity to unify Korea during the life of this generation. The expression "peaceful and democratic unification of the country" disappeared from [North] Korean propaganda. Even the [North] Korean press does not deny that [the country] is preparing for the defeat of American imperialists. The inescapability of war is theoretically explained, its consequences are played down, and the fear of war is countered as a display of bourgeois pacifism and revisionism. While the doctrine of a parallel build-up and defense of the country was declared during the October conference of the KWP in 1966, it is more and more obvious that the defense has gained priority. This was reflected even in the last year's budget of the DPRK, which appropriated more than 30% of expenditures for defense (excluding the free of charge soviet military assistance). The real nature of military measures of the DPRK is discussed in many essays, like, for instance, in an article in the periodical *Korean People's Army*, from November 1967, where it is written:

“The military course of our party, drawn by Marshal Kim Il Sung, enables us to reliably protect our socialist homeland by way of preferential strengthening of the defensive military power, and to handle, based on our own initiative, the great revolutionary event – unification of the country.”

The [North] Korean propaganda makes every effort to convince the citizens of the DPRK as well as the world’s public that the situation is quite similar to that just before the outbreak of the Korean War. Military training of civilians, including women and children, was justified by the thesis of “turning the DPRK into a steel, impregnable fortress” and reached unprecedented magnitude in the DPRK.

We cannot also underestimate the fact that the spreading of military psychosis had other functions, like distracting people from the existing economic difficulties, “justifying” stagnation of the standard of living, demanding the strictest discipline and obedience, and preventing any criticism.

Especially in the last year, the personality cult of Kim Il Sung reached unprecedented magnitude. Attributes attached to his name often run several lines. Kim Il Sung is credited with all successes and victories past and present without regard to historical facts. Even his parents and grandparents are becoming the objects of celebrations. [North] Korean propaganda places an equal sign between Kim Il Sung and Korea, while Korea is presented as an example for other countries. The intensification of Kim Il Sung’s personality cult is inseparable from two other issues, namely, – the importance of the DPRK example for the struggling nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the embellishment of Kim Il Sung’s role in the context of the international communist and workers’ movement.

Excerpts from the Cuban press, which continually publishes his addresses, are mainly used as evidence supporting the importance of his theoretical works.

Collected writings of Kim Il Sung also constitute the basic and, today actually, the only source for study of Marx-Leninism. [North] Korean citizens get only very limited information about life in other socialist countries or about the situation in the world since all news in the press and radio are bent to the line of the KWP. This practice results in increased isolation of the DPRK from the outside world.

Displays of the personality cult in the DPRK are enhanced by a strong nationalism. All problems involving the DPRK are exaggerated and placed before other international problems.

The personality cult is also supported by personnel policy of the KWP. In the summer months of 1967, a number of influential and mid level party officials were removed. According to some information, members of the Politburo Pak Geumcheol and Lee Chesun were arrested during last year’s June conference of the KWP CC. Pak Geumcheol allegedly asked Kim Il Sung for a more realistic domestic policy, including improvement in the standard of living and a more realistic approach to the problems of South Korea where the most decisive factor was supposed to be an upsurge of the internal revolutionary forces. According to an assessment of his friends, Pak Geumcheol was considered as one of the most capable functionaries of the KWP and the DPRK, and Lee Chesun was engaged in the Politburo of the KWP CC with South Korean issues for a

number of years. During the same period, other deputies and officials of the KWP CC and non-selective organizations were removed, such as a chairman of the (Workers) Unions CC, a leader of the YO (Youth Organization) of the KWP CC, a chairman of a youth organization CC, a director of the DPRK press agency, and many others. Demoted functionaries are sometimes replaced with graduates of military institutes.

The leadership of the KWP and DPRK differs in its opinions from the position of most of the fraternal parties, especially in the most pressing current issues – war and peace.

The difference in opinions among [North] Korean comrades is the most pronounced in the approach to fighting world imperialism. The KWP calls, in this case, for a frontal drive for final and immediate destruction of capitalism. According to the [North] Korean concept, the fight against imperialism can be done only by strong verbal attacks or war.

Positions of the KWP on issues of war and peace, peaceful coexistence, and approach to struggle with imperialism are very strongly influenced by the problems of the unification of the country. Naturally, these positions also shape the attitude of the KWP towards the international communist movement. The leadership of the KWP expresses support for the unity of the ICWM (International Communist Workers Movement) in the struggle with imperialism and for coordination of aid to Vietnam from fraternal countries, but the leadership expects the building of this unity only on the foundation of its own approach to the fight against imperialism and from the point of view of its own interests and goals. Fraternal parties are indirectly reproached for attacking imperialism only verbally, while in reality, they are afraid of it and are giving ground to it. The [North] Korean comrades put their positions forth as the only correct interpretation of Marxism-Leninism.

Countries of the Third World are considered especially important for their pivotal role in increasing the authority and prestige of the DPRK in international affairs. At the same time, the DPRK strives to promote its own example for these countries and to exert influence there by doctrines of “building with own resources,” of “independence from big countries,” and by radicalism of the [North] Korean positions.

So far, the DPRK did not take its position to the consultative meeting of fraternal parties, held in Budapest in February of this year. According to the opinion of Pak Seongcheol, member of the KWP CC, Deputy of the Council of Ministers and the DPRK Minister of Foreign Affairs, as expressed to the Ambassador of the GDR (German Democratic Republic), conditions for meetings of fraternal parties are worse now than a year ago. In the situation where the rift between the CPSU (Communist Party of Soviet Union) and the CP of China has grown wider and there are not even any diplomatic contacts between the USSR and the APR (Albanian People's Republic), meetings are said to contribute to the worsening of the discord. So far the only published reference in the DPRK press about planned meetings is the information taken from the central body of the CP of Cuba about the latest session of the Cuban CP CC plenum and its decision not to attend the meeting in Budapest.

Moreover, it is quite usual that in the relations of the DPRK to fraternal parties and countries, the [North] Korean comrades strive to have their opinions fully accepted and supported. The DPRK is also issuing to socialist countries imperative instructions on what they can and cannot do in

their politics and in relations with imperialist countries. The article “Let Us Point Our Fight Against the American Imperialism,” published in the journal *Nodong Sinmun* on 16th October 1967 in commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the Moscow meetings, calls for a tougher stance against the American imperialism, for active support of the struggle of the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and warns that socialist countries must be aware, as well, of the danger of Japanese militarism in Asia and fight against it. At the same time, the wish of the KWP to achieve unconditional support for the [North] Korean course by all socialist countries is expressed, as well, in the request that “each socialist country must respect the policy of the Cuban CP and is obligated only to support the struggle of the Cuban people.”

Similar practices are also characteristic of the approach of the [North] Korean comrades towards international organizations where they often try to push unrealistic requirements and, on top of that, demand that their socialist partners support them thoroughly without regard to the common interests of the whole socialist community.

II.

By pressing forward with the current doctrine, the KWP is also contributing to the increase of restlessness especially in the Demilitarized Zone and to the dangerous escalation of tension there, which was quite noticeable last year. Incidents in the zone and to the south of it have, so far, reached an unprecedented number. Incidents result in many casualties. Official sources in the DPRK accuse the Americans and the South Korean regime of importing new kinds of weapons into South Korea and of shooting from the Demilitarized Zone at the North, and they assert that incidents on the territory of South Korea are the result of the growing struggle of South Korean patriots for national liberation. Contrary to that, Americans and South Koreans accuse the DPRK of continuously and increasingly infiltrating the South and of supplying new kinds of weapons. In a memorandum from October last year on the situation in Korea, submitted to members of the political committee of the UN, the DPRK government pointed out the danger of a new Korean war flaring up as a consequence of American provocations and the necessity to withdraw U.S. troops immediately from South Korea. A letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the South Korean regime, containing a number of attacks against the DPRK and its policy (especially in connection with an “infiltration from the North”), was distributed amongst the committee as well.

According to the opinion of the Czechoslovak delegation with the Supervisory Commission of the Non-Aligned States, as well as to the opinion of our Embassy in Pyongyang, a number of circumstances indicate that the incidents in the Demilitarized Zone and to the south of it are intentionally and purposefully provoked mostly by the DPRK, although it is difficult to judge which side is to blame in such cases. However, increasing tensions on the 38th parallel of latitude and the growing number of incidents corresponds with the [North] Korean concept of the fight against imperialism and with the support of the revolutionary struggle of the people of South Korea. Officials of the DPRK strive to attract the world’s attention to the Korean problem and try to gain support from socialist countries for their policies.

The rapidly deteriorating situation in the Demilitarized Zone and the danger of a possible new conflict was reflected in the negotiations of the Military Commission for Truce in Panmunjeom. At the Commission’s meetings, both sides accused each other of violating the treaty, and the

negotiations lead to nowhere. For the [North] Korean side, the Military Commission for Truce is a place where they can confront Americans face to face, and they take full advantage of this opportunity. Speeches of a [North] Korean delegate are mostly propaganda in nature and are used namely in the internal propaganda of the DPRK. Consistently, the negative attitude towards participating in joint investigations of the discussed incidents, as stipulated in the Truce Treaty, is a shortcoming of [North] Korean comrades in their dealing with the Commission.

The DPRK authorities are pressuring the Czechoslovak and Polish delegations with the Supervisory Commission of the Non-Aligned States into making the SCNAS a platform for the anti-imperialistic struggle in the [North] Korean style, without regard to the mandate of the Commission given by the Truce Treaty. At the same time, the [North] Korean comrades only inform the Czechoslovak and Polish delegations about the problems in the Demilitarized Zone sporadically and inaccurately. The Czechoslovak delegation with the SCNAS conducts its activities in agreement with the directive currently in force with the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The situation in Korea lately underwent a very dangerous development. On January 23rd this year, patrol boats of the DPRK detained an American spy ship *Pueblo* with 83 men and escorted it to the North Korean port Wonsan. According to the DPRK's information, the American ship was captured 10 miles away from Wonsan and 7.6 miles from the Jodo Island. The ship was collecting data about water depth, location of troops, and defenses of the DPRK coast.

On January 19th this year, this incident was preceded by an attempt of an armed group of 30 to penetrate the residence of the South Korean president in Seoul, with an objective to assassinate the president and other government officials. There was an exchange of fire for several hours between that group and South Korean police, with dead and injured on both sides. The South Korean regime mobilized armed forces that, together with the American Army, destroyed most of the members of the group.

On January 24th, Americans accused the DPRK at the Military Commission for Truce of an attempt to assassinate the president and high officials of the South Korean regime and of capturing an American ship in international waters. A spokesman for the U.S. said that the capturing of the ship could have grave consequences and endanger peace in the DPRK. He demanded immediate return of the ship with the crew and an apology. He also asked that a serious warning be passed on to Kim Il Sung. The [North] Korean side rejected the accusation.

President Johnson and Minister Rusk characterized the situation as very serious. The United States representative at the UN, Goldberg, expressed to U Thant concerns of the American government about the consequences of the incident and asked for a meeting of the Security Council regarding the capture of the American ship. The U.S. presents the issue of the ship as a part of a continuous violation of the Demilitarized Zone and as a provocation against South Korea. The U.S. asked the USSR to intervene with the [North] Korean side for the release of the captured ship. The USSR declined to intervene and warned the U.S. against any rash actions.

The United States, South Korean regime, and the DPRK introduced a number of military measures in order to increase the combat readiness of their armed forces. These measures, together with the psychological conditioning of the population in the both parts of Korea, create,

on their own, a situation when any rather serious incident caused by one of the parties could escalate into a larger scale military conflict.

According to international law, the DPRK's course of action would be legal if the American vessel were engaged in a hostile activity in the coastal waters of the DPRK and offered resistance when ordered to leave. If the incident happened in the open sea, the DPRK's intervention was not legal. It is difficult to judge this matter now. We assume the position of the DPRK that the ship *Pueblo* was in the DPRK coastal waters. From this point of view, detention of the ship appears to be an act of defense of the DPRK's sovereignty.

Soviet ships, with aid for the DRVN (Democratic Republic of Vietnam) and with substantial commercial and military supplies for the DPRK, were passing through the area where the ship *Pueblo* was detained. From this corridor, the ship could have monitored the movement of part of the DPRK's naval forces, including the submarines, one of the main air force bases, a zone of security defense installations of the DPRK, and the movement in the area, which, the U.S. obviously believes, is used for the transportation of North Korean groups to South Korea. It seems that considering the importance of this area and the growing tension at the 38th parallel of latitude, the ship's mission was to determine the level of readiness of the Korean People's Army, or when possible, how imminent the danger is of carrying out the slogans for the unification of the country by force.

It is necessary to view the current conflict in a wider context because the DPRK has alliance treaties with the Soviet Union as well as with the PRC, in which both countries pledge to help the DPRK if it is attacked and is drawn into a military conflict.

The presentation by the U.S. delegate at the Security Council consisted basically of already published accusations from the American party. The Soviet delegate reacted with a strong accusation of the U.S. policy of intervention in Korea, and in the case of the ship *Pueblo*, he operated, namely, with the deposition of the ship's captain to counter the American arguments. Discussion in the Security Council did not result in support of the American version, decisively opposed by the USSR. So far, the American delegation has not presented any resolution to the Security Council. The development of discussion of the matter in the Security Council can be characterized by a proposal of the Soviet delegate to immediately invite the DPRK into the Security Council. The U.S. rejected the proposal, saying that they would be willing to admit the DPRK delegation to the Security Council only if the ship with the crew is released. There is also an effort, especially of developing countries, to mediate the U.S. and the DPRK. The fact that the issue was discussed in the Security Council turned out, in the present situation, to be a positive; it helped to calm military hysteria in the U.S. and bought time to search for a diplomatic solution to the conflict. Due to the offensive of the NLF (National Liberation Front) in South Vietnam, the U.S. was forced to tone down its response to the DPRK in connection with incident of the ship *Pueblo*.

The DPRK preferred direct talks with the U.S. Since February 2nd, the negotiation has been on going in the Military Commission for Truce in Panmunjeom between representatives of the U.S. and the DPRK. According to the reports from our embassy, the negotiation is conducted in a calm manner. According to the press release from the AP in Seoul, representatives of the DPRK negotiating in Panmunjeom expressed a willingness to return to the United States the wounded

and killed crew members of *Pueblo*. According to another report from Reuters in Tokyo, referring to the news from a South Korean pressroom, the U.S. and the DPRK reached a basic agreement in Panmunjeom on February 5th about the release of the *Pueblo* crew. The same source reported that the U.S., in essence accepted North Korean conditions, and they will admit that the *Pueblo* entered North Korean sovereign waters. The U.S. allegedly promised a public apology as well. As per the report of the Reuters agency in Washington, the U.S. State Department allegedly made a statement on February 5th that it has no information confirming the report of the basic agreement with the DPRK about the release of the *Pueblo* crew. These reports are not officially confirmed yet. Even if they turn out to be true, we still cannot expect a radical decrease in tension as long as the military measures implemented in connection with the *Pueblo* incident are not revoked.

III.

The acceleration of the dangerous developments on the Korean Peninsula and the complex situation there were the subjects of talks of the KPCZ CC First Secretary, c. A. Dubcek with the representatives of the CPSU CC while he was recently in Moscow. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs consulted this matter with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR in December last year. Follow-up consultation happened through our ambassador in Moscow in the last few days. In both instances, Soviet comrades were made familiar with our assessment of the developments in Korea and were informed about our concern with some dangerous aspects of the problem. Soviet comrades identified themselves fully with our opinions but stressed that representatives of the DPRK assured the Soviet side that the DPRK would not take any steps that could result in a military conflict. During the recent developments with the ship *Pueblo*, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also received from the Soviet party two pieces of information for the Czechoslovak government, with a description of concrete steps that the USSR is taking.

According to the last information, which the Soviet Ambassador relayed to c. V. David on February 2nd this year, the [North] Korean comrades agree with the position of the Soviet representative during discussion about the U.S. complaint to the UN Security Council. They think it is necessary to stretch the proceedings of the *Pueblo* issue in the Security Council.

Various ideas about mediation to settle the incident are being floated unofficially in the UN Security Council. The Soviet side informed the [North] Korean comrades about it. Since the [North] Korean comrades are able to deal with Americans directly in Panmunjeom, they feel that mediation of third countries is not necessary, in principle. As for the concrete proposals for mediation, our [North] Korean friends believe it is possible to choose tactics according to further developments.

In conversations with the Soviet Ambassador from January 28th to January 31st, concerning further possible steps that the DPRK may take in connection with the incident, the [North] Korean comrades said only that the DPRK is not going to succumb to provocations and is ready to work towards the easing of tensions.

On January 29th, Rusk sent a letter to c. A. A. Gromyko. In this letter, Americans reiterated their version that the ship *Pueblo* was in international waters at the moment of interception. Rusk

maintains that Johnson exercises restraint in the matter and believes that settling the issue as quickly as possible would be in the interest of both parties.

During unofficial consultations among members of the Security Council, U.S. Representative Goldberg approached the USSR representatives declaring that the U.S. is trying to find a diplomatic solution to the conflict in such a way that would include the repatriation of the ship and its crew, without damaging positions of either party.

In the response to Rusk, as well as in the conversation between the Soviet and American representatives in the Security Council, it was stressed, as the [North] Korean comrades requested, that the incident can be settled if tension in the area does not increase, national dignity of the DPRK is not insulted by making it responsible for the incident, and the policy of threats is abandoned; the U.S. must stop pressuring the DPRK and threatening her.

On January 31st, the USSR representative told the [North] Korean comrades that by adopting tough measures for defense of its sovereignty, the DPRK has politically won. Now, it would be desirable to solidify these results and, at the same time, to demonstrate the peaceful character of the DPRK's course in connection with the incident. That could be achieved by expelling the crew of *Pueblo* from the territory of the DPRK. The [North] Korean comrades were told that such a step from their side could not be interpreted as weakness; on the contrary, it would be appreciated everywhere as a show of a responsible approach, and it would strengthen, even more, the international position of the DPRK.

As far as it is up to the Soviet government, it will, of course, even in the future, see to it that events around the incident do not grow out of certain boundaries, and it will make every effort so that they do not escalate into an armed conflict.

The Soviet comrades also expressed conviction that their Czechoslovak friends share this position because it follows our common course in international issues. They would be grateful to the government of Czechoslovakia if it could, if at all possible, share information it has and comments about that matter.

We consider the USSR's approach as correct and thoughtful because it leads to preventing a wider conflict and to transferring its solution to the diplomatic arena. On January 31st of this year, the Czechoslovak government was informed about the declaration of the DPRK government on February 27th of this year concerning the incursion of the American spy ship *Pueblo* into the sovereign waters of the DPRK. The Czechoslovak government condemned the violation of the sovereignty of the DPRK and expressed to the DPRK government support for the defense of their territory and legal rights. The Czechoslovak press, radio, and television condemned the American provocation against the DPRK and informed the Czechoslovak public about the progress of events. However, the [North] Korean side protested against our press reprinting western information without comments and resolutely demanded that it publish only information released by the DPRK. Our press was notified of some inaccuracies that happened when news from western press agencies was used.

According to the assessment of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as Ministry of National Defense, even if the issue of the ship *Pueblo* is settled peacefully, the situation in the Korean area will remain dangerous, especially due to the military measures implemented by both sides.

In current situation, it would be suitable to proceed this way:

- To be permanently in constant contact with the Soviet comrades, keep them up to date about our findings and to continuously consult the development of the situation and coordinate our common steps.
- To support the DPRK politically in defense of its territorial sovereignty and legal rights and to condemn provocations of the U.S. and the South Korean regime against the DPRK.
- To be in contact with the DPRK MFA and with the DPRK Embassy in Prague and to request from them information about positions of the DPRK. To influence the DPRK suitably towards peaceful resolution of the conflict. To that end it is suggested for the KPCZ CC Secretary to receive, as soon as possible, a diplomatic representative of the DPRK and to convey to him our position in a suitable way.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of National Defense, and the Ministry of the Interior will keep continuously informing the KPCZ CC Presidium and the Czechoslovak government.

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DOCUMENT No. 58

[Source: Czech Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Adolf Kotlik.]

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
File no.: 020.873/68-3
4th February 1968

Study of Tension in the Korean Area (Military Part)

Attachment III b/

I. General Situation

From the beginning of 1967, the number of incidents in the demilitarized corridor has been growing, which has significantly increased the tension in the Korean area. This tension grew by

the end of the year 1967, and on January 19th of this year, an armed group of 30 attempted to assassinate the South Korean president and other government officials.

Tension also increased after the detention of the American radio-technical survey ship *Pueblo* by the DPRK Navy on January 23rd, 1968.

According to the communiqué of the DPRK government, the ship was captured 10 miles away from the port Wonsan, which is in the territorial waters of the DPRK. The American side denies this claim and demands repatriation of the ship and crew. So far, neither side has proven its assertion about the distance of the ship from the [North] Korean shore at the time of capture.

This incident triggered a number of diplomatic actions from the U.S., accompanied by military measures. At the same time, military measures were implemented in both parts of Korea. The military measures put in place by the interested parties after January 23rd, 1968 increased the number of armed forces in this area and led to a change in the balance of power. Military measures of the U.S. pertain both to forces deployed in the Far East and to armed forces and reserves on U.S. territory.

In the Far East:

- The American armed forces were put on elevated combat alert.
- Part of the Air Force was moved from the Vietnamese area to the Korean area, and the number of aircrafts increased in the Korean area with planes flown from the U.S..

Findings about military measures of the U.S.:

- From the islands of Okinawa and the Philippines, 5 squadrons totaling 108 tactical planes (50 F-105, 18 F-4, 40 F-102) and HQ of the 18th tactical fighter jet wing were relocated to South Korea.

Relocations from the U.S.:

- South Korea: 2 squadrons of tactical aircraft totaling 48 planes (24 F-4, 24 of an unidentified type) and 16 transport planes (C 141, C 130, C 124) with aviation technical personnel and military material,
- The island of Guam: 2 squadrons of tactical aircraft (33 planes F105).

From the U.S. Navy and Air Force:

- In the area of Vietnam, an attack aircraft carrier *Ranger* was relocated to the Korean area, and by regrouping the Pacific fleet, an attack formation of 30 ships whose core consists of 2 attack aircraft carriers, 1 anti-submarine aircraft carrier and three missile cruisers, was created in the Korean zone.

Mobilization measures of the U.S.:

- In order to satisfy the possible further strengthening of armed forces in the area of the Far East, about 14, 700 reservists were called to active duty and 28 squadrons were mobilized in the U.S. in the first round, itemized as:
 - 8 squadrons of tactical aircraft from the Air Force National Guard with total of 200 planes F-100,

- 3 tactical reconnaissance squadrons from the Air Force National Guard with total of 54 planes RF-101,
 - 5 squadrons of military air transport from the Air Force Reserves with total of 48 planes C-119 and 32 planes C-124,
 - 1 rescue squadron from the Air Force Reserves with 4 planes HU-16B ALBATROS,
 - 3 attack squadrons from Navy Reserves with 35 planes,
 - 3 tactical fighter squadrons from Navy Reserves with 35 planes,
 - 5 unspecified squadrons.
- Strengthening of the U.S. ground forces in the Far East had not happened yet but steps were taken towards the mobilization of two divisions and six brigades of reservists on U.S. territory.

As for the South Korean forces, they were put on elevated combat alert; no further mobilization measures were noticed. However, according to some reports, the South Korean government is considering possibly withdrawing two South Korean divisions from South Vietnam.

In response to the military measures of the U.S. and South Korea, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea put its forces on combat alert and is mobilizing 16 reserve divisions. It also, simultaneously, strengthened the formation of its troops along the Demilitarized Zone. It is said that the military measures of the DPRK are materially supported by the PRC.

Development of the situation and available news do not yet allow the unambiguous determination of each parties' motives, which lead to current situation, and what interests are served by the prolongation of it.

Even though we carefully monitor the development of the situation in the Korean area, we are not able, due to the lack of credible reports, namely, about the intentions of the DPRK and the PRC, to objectively assess the possible consequences of the implemented military and political measures. Due to the mobilization measures in the DPRK, movement of diplomats, including our military attaché, has been limited, and the Korean side does not inform him of its steps and intentions.

Even our representatives in the SCNAS (Supervisory Commission of the Non-Aligned States) in Panmunjeom do not have an opportunity to receive objective information. However, the extent of military steps taken and the intensive military propaganda in the DPRK indicate strong tendencies towards a military solution.

Nevertheless, we can say that the U.S. utilized the increased tension in the Korean area to push further measures through Congress in order to strengthen the American troops in this zone so that they can increase the pressure on Vietnam once the tension in Korea is resolved.

It is more difficult for the United States to further strengthen their troops in Vietnam due to the steps taken by the DPRK because this situation ties down a considerable number of U.S. forces in the Korean zone, limits the freedom of maneuvering U.S. armed forces in the Far East, and could lead to the transference of two South Korean divisions from South Vietnam to South Korea. Tying considerable U.S. forces to the Korean zone makes the situation for the NLF and

the Democratic Republic of Vietnam easier and thus, creates conditions for a successful liberation fight in Vietnam.

The tense situation in the Korean zone and in the Far East generally suits the current policy of the PRC, who is thus able to exert more of its superpower influence.

II. The State of Armed Forces and Mutual Balance of Power

Military measures of the U.S. and the DPRK are carried out in order to equalize the mutual balance of power in the Korean zone, as it follows from the data below:

(Numbers of main branches of armed forces and armaments up to January 23rd, 1968)

Branch	South Korea	USA	Total	DPRK	Ratio
Ground Forces (in thousands)	660	45	705	340	2 : 1
Divisions of Ground Forces	20	2	22	20	1.1 : 1
Tanks	1750	280	2030	600	3.3 : 1
Fighter Jets	214	-	214	2/700	1 : 3.5

(Numbers up to February 4th, 1968 after implemented mobilization steps and strengthening)

Ground Forces (in thousands)	660	45	705	540	1.3 : 1
Divisions of Ground Forces	20	2	22	36	1 : 1.6
Tanks	1750	280	2030	Not known	?
(Fighter) Jets	214	(?) 180 156	550	700	1 : 1.3

Before the military measures were introduced, the ratio of power in the Korean zone was favorable for the DPRK in air force (3.5 : 1), for South Korea and the U.S. in ground forces, as to the number of people (2 : 1), and even in tanks 3.3 : 1.

1/ Displayed data is taken from public sources, and it does not include worker peasant militias, who, in the DPRK, are militarily trained mainly for defensive purposes.

2/ Part of the members of the DPRK Air Force gained considerable experience in combat on the DRVN side.

After measures were introduced on both sides by February 4th, 1968, supremacy of the DPRK Air Force decreased to 1.3 : 1, and the ratio of ground forces as for personnel and light armament more or less equalized. The possible remaining superiority of the South Korean and American

ground forces in heavy equipment, namely, tanks, is not a decisive factor due to the terrain conditions in the Korean War theatre.

Substantial supremacy of South Korean and the U.S. Navy remains. The United States is also able, if necessary, to equalize on short notice (in 48 hours) the current unfavorable ratio in Air Force and gain in it, even, considerable superiority. It is within their capability to add about 300 to 500 fighter planes from the 12th Air Force unit and from the mobilized Air Force. However, the lack of suitable bases is a problem, and permission of the Japanese government would be needed for the use of airfields on Japanese territory.

More substantial strengthening of ground forces cannot be done in short time and the transfer of combat ready or, possibly, mobilized units from the U.S. would take one month or more.

The current balance of power does not give any side a substantial superiority in conducting an extensive offensive.

III. The Consequences of Possible Scenarios of Solution to the Conflict

Scenario 1 – Solution by peaceful settlement in a rather short time (2 to 3 weeks)

This scenario assumes a diplomatic solution with mutual concessions.

In case a peaceful settlement of the incident with the ship *Pueblo* is achieved within 2 to 3 weeks, and the course of diplomatic negotiations will give hope for a peaceful solution, armed forces of the U.S. will remain positioned in the Far East in two areas: Vietnam and Korea.

In this case, we can expect only an increase of American Air Force numbers in the Far East.

The following can be combat ready on U.S. territory during this period: up to 500 planes from the 12th Air Force unit, deployed in the western part of the U.S. and up to 350 fighter planes mobilized from reserves, up to 8 divisions of ground forces and 2 divisions of Marines, part of the 1st Navy fleet from the Pacific fleet.

In the DPRK during this period, mobilization steps can be finished, especially in material and technical procurement (also with the help of the allies).

In the case of a peaceful settlement, and if demobilization steps are not taken by the DPRK and tension does not decrease substantially, a considerable part of the U.S. forces will remain tied down in the Korean zone, which will diminish the combat capability of the U.S. in Vietnam. On the other hand, should the DPRK demobilize, we have to expect that part of the freed up U.S. forces, both from the U.S. and from the Korean zone, would be used in South Vietnam, which would change the power ratio to the NLF's disadvantage.

Scenario 2 - Solution by peaceful settlement after longer negotiation (more than 2 to 3 weeks)

In this scenario, the Korean zone would tie down a relatively large number of U.S. forces, and it is probable that these forces would be further strengthened, especially the Air Force and the Navy.

Contrary to the former scenario, 3 more divisions from the reserves could be ready on U.S. territory within 30 days for strengthening the ground forces in Far East, and on top of that, we cannot rule out complementing mobilization of the 1st, 3rd and 5th Navy fleet.

From 5 to 6 ground force divisions may be brought from the U.S. to the Korean zone within 30 days.

The DPRK would continue complementing its armed forces, namely, with weaponry supplied by the allies.

During the resolution of the conflict, more forces would be tied to the Korean area than there are now, but after that, a good part of the forces would probably be transferred to Vietnam. Thus, the ratio of power would worsen for the NLF.

Scenario 3 – Solution through military conflict

This scenario leads to the development of the two fronts in the Far East. New forces will enter the war on both sides. U.S. armed forces in the Far East will grow substantially, but they will be divided between two war theatres. As a result, the American forces in Vietnam would not strengthen as required. The consequence would be a smaller chance of resolving the conflict soon in the United States' favor and objectively worsen the situation of U.S. troops in Vietnam.

The current (and projected) power ratio does not offer a clear chance for quick resolution of the conflict to either side, and it appears that it would have to be changed.

The build up of U.S. forces can be accomplished with the 82nd Paratrooper division (in 3 days), the 2nd and 4th Marine divisions (in 3 weeks), the 5th Mechanized division, three mobilized divisions and six mobilized brigades (in 1 month), which is a total 9 divisions. The 12th Air Force unit can add about 300 fighter planes to the U.S. forces in the Far East. Such steps will result in a power ratio which is advantageous for the U.S. Besides these forces, we can expect strengthening of U.S. forces with 3 more divisions in 50 days and with a portion of the mobilized forces, 1st, 3rd and 5th fleets.

The build up of the DPRK armed forces requires the technical aid of outside armed forces. Without it, successful conduct of even the defense operations is substantially diminished. The extent of aid to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea must be proportionate to its intentions; offensive operations would require quite extensive aid (40 to 50 divisions). Such aid would also lead to the danger of the U.S. using nuclear weapons (if the DPRK forces are successful).

The direct consequence of this variable for the United States will be a substantial increase in the required means for conducting the war in the Far East (armed forces, expenses, and means of transportation). It will also result in limited possibilities for growth of other armed forces and in decreased capability to transfer armed forces to different war theatres.

We can conclude that even strengthening of the U.S. armed forces in the Far East does not offer hope for a quick resolution of both conflicts. The United States is thus confronted with the prospect of a long war that would limit their maneuverability.

Another significant change in the ratio of power would be possible with limited use of nuclear weapons. However, this creates the danger of mutual use (PRC). It also leads to the danger of escalation and a possibility of a direct conflict between the United States and the PRC (attacks against PRC nuclear capabilities) and to the increase of international activity intended to stop the war. Therefore, the use of nuclear weapons does not guarantee the United States a victory in an escalated conflict.

IV. Conclusions

Increased tension in the Korean zone is forcing the United States to keep a larger number of forces in the Korean area, which limits their use on the Vietnamese front.

The crisis in the Korean area makes it possible for the United States to strengthen its armed forces in the Far East. A peaceful settlement of the incident can make it possible for the U.S. to strengthen its armed forces in the Vietnam War theatre and thus, increase the chances for a successful military solution.

Starting a military conflict confronts the U.S. with these alternatives:

- Conventional warfare means a protracted war on two fronts (with all political, economic and military consequences),
- Limited nuclear war means a danger of escalating the war, direct conflict with the People's Republic of China (while the result of the war cannot be predicted with any certainty), and a situation where the world's public opinion would be polarized against the U.S. (efforts to stop the war).

The most advantageous variable for the United States appears to be peaceful resolution of the conflict because it allows the planned steps to proceed, during further negotiations, in order to strengthen the [U.S.] armed forces in the Far East. Peace negotiations make it possible for the United States to regroup their forces in favor of the Vietnam War theatre and to conduct their operations successfully. The extent of regrouping will depend whether the DPRK will demobilize or not.

Increased tension in the Korean zone draws the U.S. military effort from Vietnam and is unintentionally helping the National Liberation Front and the People's Republic of Vietnam.

An early solution in the Korean zone can lead to the renewed use of forces transferred to the Korean area in the Vietnamese War theatre and to a diminished possibility of the transference of mobilized U.S. forces to the Far East. In case they are transferred to the Far East, they would probably be used in the Vietnamese War theatre.

A peaceful settlement after longer negotiations will result in tying part of the U.S. forces down in the Korean area, which will make it easier for the NLF and DRVN. At the same time, the U.S. will be more likely to transfer their armed forces for the Far East into the Korean zone. A peaceful settlement will allow the U.S. to deploy larger forces in the Vietnamese zone than in the

previous variable, and thus, it will substantially influence the course of the conflict in favor of the U.S..

In the case of a military solution of the conflict in Korea, there is little chance that the U.S. would decide to get engaged in a protracted war with conventional weapons like in Vietnam. Requests of some senators from the American Congress as well as proposals of top military officials for solving a contingent conflict with nuclear weapons (for instance the Chief of Staff of the 8th American Army [division] in Korea) indicate a dangerous development of a possible military confrontation.

A military solution brings, for socialist countries, an increase in military aid and probably also some measures in the armed forces for the possible escalation, and in general, increased military spending. In addition, it is necessary to take into account the possibility of a limited nuclear war and to think of measures to counter such a situation.

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DOCUMENT No. 59

[Source: Czech Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Adolf Kotlik.]

9 February 1968

THE EMBASSY OF CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC
SM – 021712/68
(other notes illegible)

No. 031/68
Pyongyang

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Classified

By courier!

Declassified per file no. 267.261/2001- OZÚ

P r a g u e

(OZÚ = Section for Special Assignments]

Date: May 22nd, 2001

Processed by: (initial illegible)

***Pueblo* and American – South Korean Relations**

Report No. 11

Written by: B. Schindler

7 x

Political

When the *Pueblo* was detained on the night of January 23rd, all of the South Korean propaganda was still fully involved with the case of January 21st of 31 armed persons, who, according to a captured member of the group, were supposed to kill the South Korean president and other key representatives of South Korea and who were still being pursued mainly in the area between Seoul and the Demilitarized Zone.

The Seoul incident from 21st January of this year revealed shortcomings in the security system between the position of the 2nd U.S. Infantry Division in the western part of the Demilitarized Zone and Seoul and showed the poor readiness of the South Korean armed units to counter such a large scale action as the 21st January incident undoubtedly was.

The inefficiency of South Korean troops and police, proven by the incident, raised a wave of dissatisfaction that was reflected in the South Korean press during the days when the *Pueblo* was detained. South Korean propaganda found some counter-arguments against these reproaches of its own press and soon was able to distract the public and turn its attention to three issues: the Japanese press' interpretation of the January 21st incident, the U.S. position in regards to the Seoul incident and the detention of the *Pueblo*, and to internal political issues concerning the relations between the ruling Republican Party and the New Democratic Party.

The very first reports of the Japanese press about the Seoul incident caused concern and agitation because of the way in which the news was presented, and it almost immediately resulted in small demonstrations against Japanese journalists accredited in South Korea, calling for their immediate expulsion from the country. These demonstrations were followed by larger demonstration and protest gatherings against the Seoul incident, which were of a pronounced anti-North Korean nature, and contained all the signs of anti-communist hysteria, complete with the burning of straw effigies of Kim Il Sung. Most participants were students, intelligentsia and artists; however, South Korean authorities managed to get labor unions involved as well. Regardless of the fact that the South Korean educational system is selective, especially when it comes to admissions to secondary schools, South Korean authorities did not even have to apply direct pressure to ensure participation in these demonstrations. Their main purpose has been achieved: to turn public attention from criticizing the government, army, and police to a more acceptable matter – against the DPRK, which was a complete success. These tendencies were further strengthened when an underground group of 31 (directed from the DPRK, according to the South Korean press) was arrested, as well as a group of fishermen, who had returned to South Korea after staying in the DPRK.

The South Korean government was able to accomplish all of its intentions; in fact, a South Korean flying squad, with active help from civilians, killed the last of the 31 armed insurgents, even though we cannot say that it was a direct consequence of this propaganda.

South Korean propaganda was able to sustain the wave of anti-communism on the same level by [reporting?] other events as well, like a funeral ceremony for police personnel killed on January 21st and for other South Korean soldiers who were shot while pursuing “armed guerilla groups of South Korean patriots and revolutionaries.” Namely, two funerals were exploited exceptionally: the funeral of a higher commander of the South Korean army and the funeral of a school child, who was killed during an attack of the armed group on the access road to the presidential palace.

The widely publicized testimony of the only captive from this armed group [included statements, such as] “we were supposed to cut Park Chung-hee's head off” and so on, and the alleged threats that armed group members [made] to peasants, [like] “if you don't help us and report us, we will take revenge on you and your family members when the country is united soon,” had its intended effect. The last ones killed from the group of 31 were physically weak and hungry, which, among other things, showed that by its very first appeals, South Korean propaganda was able to deter civilians from helping the armed group in any way.

These propaganda efforts of South Korean ruling circles were also accompanied by internal measures that were aimed at practically every South Korean and strictly limited possibilities to provide meaningful assistance to members of the armed group.

Some later news also raised speculation that a three member group seen far southeast of the city Daegu had its own mission, not necessarily connected with the mission of the main group in Seoul. That is to say, Park Chung-hee's villa is near Daegu.

Measures of the South Korean government – accelerated arming of segments of the population (protection of important private production facilities) as well as fast modernization of the South Korean coast guard – further intensified the anti-infiltration and anti-communist propaganda so much that it, at least initially, overshadowed the propaganda around the detention of the *Pueblo*.

During the Seoul incident, there were disagreements between the ruling and opposition parties; however, right after January 21st, the opposition party showed maximum willingness to cooperate with the ruling party “in the light of serious danger to the security of the South Korean state from North Korean infiltrators,” in the sense that it was not just an isolated action of 31 armed men but a systematic and planned activity of the DPRK with the final objective of “armed aggression against South Korea.” Therefore, one of the consequences of the Seoul incident was, among other things, that the ruling and opposition parties achieved a certain degree of unity.

Initially, South Korean propaganda accepted the detention of the *Pueblo* as a vindication of its warning that the U.S. is underestimating the danger that manifested itself in Kim Il Sung's speech on December 16th, 1967, and that the former DPRK KCPA deputy warned against as early as the beginning of the summer after he defected to the South. The first responses to the *Pueblo* incident indicated several facts that must have been unpleasant to Americans, to say the least. One of them was the argument that by crossing the DMZ (Demilitarized Zone) unnoticed in the section of the U.S. 2nd Infantry Division, the armed group revealed, not only, that the U.S. Command in South Korea underestimated the possibility of infiltration from North Korea but that it was satisfied with declarations that the electronic barrier, which was already fully functional in the section of this American unit, was impenetrable. At the same time, South Korean officials argued against the American practice of arming South Korean forces in both South Korea and South Vietnam with dated American weapons, some of which the American Army used already in World War II. As evidence, they pointed out comments from some key South Korean political and military officials about what happened last year when South Korean soldiers in South Vietnam refused to fight with obsolete M-1 rifles and when, after being issued new, lighter and shorter M-6 rifles, with a much higher frequency of effective shooting, their fighting capability increased, exemplified by concrete results in combat against the armed forces of South Vietnam National Liberation Front.

The request for expedient modernization of all South Korean units was accompanied by two warnings addressed directly and indirectly to the U.S.: the South Korean Foreign Affairs Committee deputy talked about a possibility of withdrawal of all South Korean troops (48,000) from South Vietnam even before the commencement of the South Vietnamese NLF offensive, and the parliament expressed a request that South Korean armed forces be removed from the U.S. command (of the UN armed forces in South Korea).

The effectiveness of these two threats was visible almost immediately: modern weaponry for South Korean units that was originally planned for delivery by the end of March was immediately airlifted to South Korea, and the designated units are scheduled to receive these weapons by the end of February. Johnson's message to Park Jung-hee and the trip of his special envoy to Seoul were supposed to explain to the South Korean government why the U.S. rejected the military approach in cooperation with the South Korean armed forces in the first phase of the *Pueblo's* detention and why Smith negotiates with Pak Jungguk in Panmunjeom behind closed doors without the presence of a South Korean representative.

Americans also had to explain to the South Korean government why they do not make any connection between the *Pueblo* and Seoul incidents during negotiations in Panmunjeom. The pressure of South Korea on Johnson had its desired effect. Regardless of the precarious situation Americans faced due to the South Vietnam NLF offensive, the mere thought of Koreans pulling out their troops, which Americans themselves consider to be the best of all the satellite armies and which, after the Americans, are the most numerous, was dangerous, [made?] even more so because of the NLF armed forces offensive.

The effectiveness of the South Korean threats manifested itself not only in Johnson's message and in an expedited shipment of modern weapons to the South Korean army but also in an additional hundred million U.S. dollars after South Korean officials openly said, in connection with their disapproval that the U.S. was negotiating the *Pueblo* incident with the DPRK in Panmunjeom behind closed doors and without South Korean representatives, that they do not approve of the U.S. approach because first of all, the *Pueblo* incident cannot be separated from the Seoul incident, and second, the U.S. pledged to discuss all of their measures in South Korea with the South Korean government, and further, that the U.S. cannot expect to stop "North Korean aggressive behavior" with several ships, older weapons, and their own existence.

As it is, after Johnson's message, sending the special envoy, the additional one hundred million dollars, accelerated military aid and a change of the U.S. position on *Pueblo* (the U.S., through Smith's negotiations with the DPRK, started to honor the South Korean request not to separate the *Pueblo* incident from the Seoul one), there was no more talk about withdrawing the South Korean units from South Vietnam nor about removing South Korean units from the UN command in South Korea. The objective was reached; the subjective pressure from the South Korean government met with the objective pressure of the South Vietnamese reality – therefore, South Korean government circles could accept with satisfaction the words of Johnson's message that South Korea is one of the U.S.' best allies and could [still?] continue to press the U.S. for further concessions, namely, shipments of modern weapons and military equipment. Reports were proliferating that the Seoul incident showed organizational incompetence of South Korean

military and police units and their inadequate equipment. (M-1 rifles have many disadvantages, like they are too heavy and bulky for the small South Koreans and, thus, are less suitable, for anti-infiltration activity in the mountains and less accessible terrain, than the automatic rifles of the armed infiltrators.) All this led to a South Korean request to arm all anti-infiltration units with modern M-6 rifles, which all South Korean units in South Vietnam already have, and to also arm police units and special anti-infiltration units with these weapons. However, judging from comments of some top South Korean military representatives, South Korea wants to exploit the Seoul and *Pueblo* incidents to the maximum in the shortest possible time. Additional requests were expressed for the U.S. to help with the replacement of communication equipment for all levels of the South Korean army, with reference to the shortcomings in communication that have appeared over the last few weeks due to old radio relays and telephone switchboxes. Based on experience from the last days of January, South Korean authorities also strongly criticized the food, which was unsuitable for the anti-infiltration units, pointing out that there are already talks going on with the U.S. command in South Korea [agreeing?] that rice cans are not suitable and that they will be replaced with other kinds of food, along with the necessary kitchen material for the preparation of warm meals in field conditions.

The DPRK press is correct in saying that Americans ran into a dead end in South Korea when the last developments in South Vietnam almost coincided with the “revolt” of the South Korean government, who wanted to exploit this extremely advantageous situation to the maximum and is, thus far, succeeding in doing so.

It may sound ironic, but the fact is that the Seoul incident together with the *Pueblo* incident made it possible for South Korean ruling circles to solve, by pressuring the U.S., some problems of a military nature, which they have always blamed on U.S. dilatoriness. Since South Korea is quickly getting new equipment and arms in exchange for assurances that it will not pull out its troops from South Vietnam, the questions of war and peace are reaching higher levels. For sure, these South Korean political successes will not remain without response from the DPRK, who, as we can judge from more than just the confidential monitor, KCPA, is closely following the South Korean military problems, especially, and can be expected to make further efforts to counter the latest South Korean measures with new requests to socialist countries in order to neutralize the “results” of the Seoul and *Pueblo* incidents, which were far more beneficial to South Korea than to the DPRK.

We can, therefore, assume that efforts to buildup arms will only increase on both sides of the Demilitarized Zone, and that because of intensified propaganda on both sides, more pointed conflicts could be developing on land and sea or near the Demilitarized Zone, and that these prospects cannot, in any case, mean a decrease in tensions; on the contrary, the mutual race to modernize the equipment of armed forces can only exacerbate the already strained atmosphere on the Korean Peninsula, and as such is the case, the danger of words becoming reality will continue to grow.

Today, when it is already clear that the DPRK cannot expect to surpass South Korea economically in the near future – and everything shows the DPRK has abandoned these goals for good – the possibility of a peaceful unification of the country is disappearing for more reasons than just South Korean anti-communism [sentiment], which will only grow as a result of the

Seoul and *Pueblo* incidents and which, for a long time, will prevent the founding of Marx-Lenin party in the South as was outlined at the national conference of the KWP last year. On the contrary, the [situational] developments in this part of the world suggests that the DPRK definitively gave up all possibilities except that of a military solution of the Korean issue, even at the expense of extremely lowering the living standard of the [North] Korean people and of taxing the relations with the fraternal socialist parties and the PRC for only one end – intensive preparation for unification with the help of weapons.

We think that a lot will depend on the position of the USSR and the European socialist countries regarding this problem in a complicated situation when we cannot rule out that the Korean Worker's Party is already counting on more active aid of the People's Republic of China, whose arms potential could play a role on the Korean Peninsula in a Korean Worker's Party solution that is, as we believe, unrealistic.

Ambassador:
Holub

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 60

[Source: PoIA AA, MfAA, G-A 320. Obtained for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer and translated for NKIDP by Karen Riechert.]

GDR Embassy to DPRK
Pyongyang, 20 February 1968

Memorandum

**on a Conversation with the USSR Ambassador, Comrade Sudarikov, on 16 February 1968
between 16:15 and 17:30 hours**

The meeting was held upon my request.

At the beginning, I informed Comrade Sudarikov about the intention of the GDR to send a party and government delegation to the DPRK in the second half of March 1968.

[...]

On the issue of the *Pueblo*:

It is possible, Comrade Kim Il Sung asserted, to find a peaceful, if not a good solution on the *Pueblo* issue. One precondition is that the Americans abandon their threats and admit their guilt. If they continue their threats and attack us, we will fight against them. Comrade Ponomarev stated that the USSR's position is clear; the Soviet Ambassador has already informed the leading comrades in the DPRK. The situation is such that we need a peaceful resolution and a reasonable solution. It is absolutely evident that the *Pueblo* incident has dealt a blow to the United States while the reputation of the DPRK has increased.

Note:

On the same topic of a conversation that I had with the First Secretary of the USSR Embassy, Comrade Zvetkov, on 14 February. The content of both talks was mostly identical. There were a few nuances in details that do not change the overall content in any way.

Jarck
Acting Ambassador

CC

1x State Secretary Hegen (Foreign Ministry)
1x Comrade Axen (Central Committee)
1x Embassy/Secretariat

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 61

[Source: Czech Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Adolf Kotlik.]

February 1968

Letter Relaying Information Shared between USSR Ambassador in Prague c. S.V. Cervonenko and Minister of Foreign Affairs c. V. David about the Situation in Korea

Deputy of the Minister of Foreign Affairs

File No.: 020.874/68-3
c. Trnavsky
complement according to the info from the CPZS CC
or c. (illegible) c. (illegible)

Dear Comrade,
Attached please find information about the situation in Korea as the USSR Ambassador in Prague c. S.V. Cervonenko relayed it to the Minister of Foreign Affairs c. V. David.

With comradely greeting,
(signature illegible)

Attachment: 1

Esteemed Comrade
Alexander D u b c e k
First Deputy of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

Prague

[North] Korean comrades agreed with the position of the Soviet representative during the discussion of the U.S. complaint to the UN Security Council. They think it is necessary to stretch the proceedings of the *Pueblo* issue in the Security Council.

As you know, various ideas about how to mediate the settlement of the incident are being discussed unofficially in the UN Security Council. We informed the [North] Korean comrades about it. Since the [North] Korean comrades are able to deal with Americans directly in Panmunjon, they feel that mediation of third countries is not necessary, in principle. As for the concrete proposals for mediation, friends believe it is possible to determine tactics according to further developments.

In conversations with the Soviet Ambassador from January 28th to January 31st, concerning further possible steps that the DPRK may take in connection with the incident, the [North] Korean comrades were saying only that the DPRK is not going to succumb to provocations and is ready to work towards easing tensions.

On January 29th, Rusk sent a letter to c. A. A. Gromyko. In this letter, Americans reiterate their version that the ship *Pueblo* was in international waters at the moment of interception. Rusk maintains that Johnson exercises restraint in the matter and believes that settling the issue as quickly as possible would be in the interest of the both parties.

During unofficial consultations among members of the Security Council, U.S. Representative Goldbeg approached the USSR representatives with a declaration that the U.S. is trying to find a diplomatic solution to the conflict in such a way that would include repatriation of the ship and its crew, without damaging positions of either party.

In the response to Rusk, as well as in the conversation between the Soviet and American representatives in the Security Council, we stressed, as the [North] Korean comrades requested, that the incident can be settled if tensions in the area do not increase, the national dignity of the DPRK is not insulted by making it responsible for the incident, and the policy of threats is abandoned; the U.S. must stop pressuring the DPRK and threatening her.

On January 31st, we told the [North] Korean comrades that by adopting tough measures for defense of its sovereignty, the DPRK has politically won. Now it would be desirable to solidify these results and, at the same time, to demonstrate the peaceful character of the DPRK's course in connection with the incident. That could be achieved by expelling the crew of the *Pueblo* from the territory of the DPRK. We told the [North] Korean comrades that such a step from their side could not be interpreted as weakness; on the contrary, it would be appreciated everywhere as a show of a responsible approach, and it would strengthen even more the international position of the DPRK.

As far as it is up to the Soviet government, it will, of course, even in the future, see to it that events around the incident do not grow out of certain boundaries, and it will make every effort so that they do not escalate into an armed conflict.

We are convinced that our Czechoslovak friends share this position because it follows our common course in international issues.

We would be grateful to the government of Czechoslovakia if it could, if at all possible, share information it has and comments about that matter.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 62

[Source: AVPRF. f. 102, op. 28, pap. 55, d. 2. Obtained for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko and translated for NKIDP by Gary Goldberg.]

26 February 1968

Reception of US Ambassador to the USSR Llewellyn E. Thomson by AAG [A. A. Gromyko]

I received Ambassador Thompson today at his request.

Thompson said that more than a month had passed since North Korean patrol boats seized the ship *Pueblo* by force in international waters. In spite of the undoubtedly illegal nature of the North Korean actions and the indignation of the public in the U.S., the Americans have displayed considerable restraint and have sought a favorable resolution of the issue. Following the advice of the Soviets, the Americans have made some changes in the deployment of its forces.

Thompson then said that the eighth meeting of the two sides had already been held in Panmunjeom. Wanting the Soviets to be informed of the talks being held, the minutes of all eight meetings were made available to A. F. Dobrynin, the Soviet ambassador in Washington. During the talks, the Americans promised to conduct a comprehensive investigation of the incident after the return of the crew of the *Pueblo* and the ship itself and also expressed a readiness to express regret in the event that the fact of a violation of DPRK territorial waters was established. The North Koreans rejected these proposals made by the Americans.

Thompson continued that in spite of attempts by the Americans to find a mutually acceptable solution, the situation has not changed, as a result of which tensions remain in the area of Korea. The present tension is increasing, primarily as a result of the malicious North Korean activity with respect to South Korea, which, in particular, has manifested in the attack on the Blue House, the residence of the president of South Korea and the infiltration of North Korean agents across the Demilitarized Zone. The increase in tension has also been fostered by the irresponsible threats of punishment, retaliation, and war against "American imperialism" and its "henchmen"

in South Korea, which were made by the senior North Korean representative at the talks in Panmunjeom and by the North Korean prime minister. An increase in tension was also promoted by the statement of the North Korean chargé in Moscow that members of the *Pueblo* crew would be punished, Thompson continued.

Thompson then said that Cyrus Vance, the special representative of the U.S. president, who had returned from Seoul, confirmed the reports of the American Embassy in South Korea that the patience of the South Koreans is at its limit as a result of the clearly malicious actions of the North Koreans. Captured North Korean prisoners informed South Korean authorities about the increased training of saboteurs to conduct a North Korean program of infiltration, sabotage, and murder in South Korea.

Both our sides ought to pay great attention to an issue which might lead to a continuation of the above actions by the North Koreans, said Thompson. We constantly call for restraint from the South Korean authorities, Thompson continued, and hope that for your part, you will exert the same influence on North Korea.

Thompson further noted that, in accordance with his instructions, he characterized this situation which has ensued to be the result of the eight meetings in Panmunjeom. He then reported that, as the next step, the Americans intended to propose to the North Koreans that an investigation of the incident be conducted in order to establish whether the ship *Pueblo* actually violated the territorial waters of the DPRK. Thompson continued, the Americans will propose that this investigation be conducted "by a completely impartial" group, and in the event that a violation of the 12-mile zone of territorial waters is established, the U.S. will be ready to offer its apologies to North Korea.

AAG asked the ambassador whether he thought that all the meetings held in Panmunjeom (including the latest, the ninth, which was held on 21 February) had brought any progress and was also interested in whether the Americans had given replies to all the questions raised by the North Koreans.

Thompson replied that no progress has been achieved by the talks in Panmunjeom. As for the North Koreans' questions, in his opinion, replies had been given to them. Thompson added that he knew the North Koreans demanded that, from the very beginning, the Americans offer apologies in connection with the incident. However, they have been told that an investigation was necessary to do this.

AAG said that Thompson's report added very little to what we already know from other sources. Our assessment of U.S. actions, which led to the incident with their ship *Pueblo*, was described in the messages of A. N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to U.S. President L. Johnson and also in previous conversations with the Ambassador, said AAG. Therefore, there is hardly a need to describe it in detail again. AAG then expressed the hope that this incident would be settled and the sooner the better. AAG noted that we are not confident that the Americans are using all opportunities to solve the problem caused as a result of its own actions. The search for such a solution is in no way helped by the one-sided interpretation to which, as before, the U.S. is subscribing, classifying the detention of the *Pueblo* as "an illegal act."

Thompson said that in the opinion of the Americans at the present moment, the main thing in connection with the *Pueblo* incident is the different interpretation of the facts, in view of which they also intend to propose an impartial investigation. Thompson added that the Americans cannot agree with the North Korean interpretation of what happened. AAG said that the position of the Soviets on the issue of the *Pueblo* incident remains the same as was described before. We think that the faster this issue is decided the better. In regards to the Americans, they obviously ought to display greater objectivity in the assessment of the facts, more flexibility in the approach to a solution of the problem, and not proceed from what the Ambassador said at the beginning of his statement, that the action of the DPRK was "illegal" and to repeat this endlessly. In our view, AAG continued, the appropriate U.S. military branches also ought to receive instructions to not create such dangerous situations in the future and to not carry out provocations against other countries. In regards to the U.S. intention to propose conducting an investigation of the *Pueblo* incident with some "impartial" group at the talks in Panmunjeom, we cannot say what the attitude of the [North] Koreans will be to this proposal.

A. [Akalovsky], First Secretary of the U.S. Embassy to the USSR, was present at the conversation from the American side. G. M. Korniyenko, Chief of the U.S. Department of the USSR MFA, was present on our side. The conversation was recorded by O. Krokhaliev, Third Secretary of the U.S. Department.

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DOCUMENT No. 63

[Source: PoIA AA, MfAA, G-A 344. Obtained for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer and translated for NKIDP by Karen Riechert.]

GDR Embassy to DPRK
Pyongyang, 3 March 1968

Comrade Jarck **on Current Relations between the DPRK and the PR China**

As already outlined in my recent posting, there are a lot of elements indicating a potential improvement in relations between the DPRK and the PRC. However, there is still no reliable and comprehensive information. Thus, all the fraternal embassies [USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland], ours included, are working on only a basis of assumptions and a few facts in order to reach certain conclusions. In addition to previously transmitted bits of information, the following indications do exist here on the status of [North] Korean-Chinese relations:

1. I heard from the Hungarian Acting Ambassador how the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party has received information from a European fraternal party. According to that party, Zhou Enlai has allegedly written a letter to Kim Il Sung stating that positions of the Mao Red Guards are not identical with those of the PRC government in many respects. Furthermore, the letter is said to express Chinese willingness to send volunteers to [North] Korea. So far, there is no confirmation of this information's accuracy from any other source.
2. Recently, the PRC has sent some specialists to the DPRK. According to various sources of information, they are said to be experts in repairing equipment and objects that were once built by the PRC. Some hints also mention military specialists are on site in various facilities.
3. On January 29, a delegation of 19 members arrived from Beijing to conclude negotiations for a trade agreement between the DPRK and the PRC. Over the last week, the delegation leader is said to have arrived as well. Negotiations are to be concluded soon. Just the existence of such negotiations is of major importance. Lee Juyeon, KWP Politburo member and Deputy Prime Minister, told leading Soviet comrades in December 1967 that there were no prospects at all for a trade agreement between the DPRK and the PRC for the year of 1968.
4. On foreign trade between the DPRK and the PRC, the following data exists for 1966 and 1967. (Data is mostly from the Romanian Embassy but has only been partially double-checked. Thus, there is a certain likelihood for accuracy.)

	1966	1967 (in million Ruble)
DPRK Exports	about 75	about 65
DPRK Imports	about 76	about 65

DPRK Exports

Anthracite
 Iron Ore
 Different types of Steel
 Some amounts of non-ferrous metals
 Mechanical Engineering Products

DPRK Imports

(volume in percentages)

Fuel Products + Coke and Coking Coal (about 2 million tons)	54.7
Chemical products	8.5
Vegetable Oil and others	16.2
Textile and light industry products	15.8
Fruit, Vegetables, Meat, etc.	4.8

Allegedly, there had been technical-organizational as well as political problems with the Chinese exports in 1967. The result being that some goods were not delivered in full, such as vegetable oil, cotton, coke, and coking coal. Irregular and delayed deliveries have also occurred, but, it is said, they have been fulfilled still by 95 percent. There were also problems with [North] Korean exports when the Chinese complained about the bad quality of machine tools and transformers.

In the field of scientific-technological cooperation, the PRC allegedly handed over about 182 documents to the [North] Koreans in 1966/1967.

5. A few weeks ago, the prohibition to use the sidewalk in front of the Chinese Embassy [in Pyongyang] was lifted, although the large images of Mao are still on public display next to the entrance.

All these details are indications for an improvement of relations in the context of the *Pueblo* seizure and incidents in Seoul. We cannot evaluate, however, how far-reaching this improvement actually is and whether it is stable and durable. The fact that there is only an acting ambassador and no [PRC] ambassador here demonstrates there still exist unresolved questions in DPRK-PRC bilateral relations. Some [North] Korean actions display the ongoing DPRK interest in normalizing relations with the PRC and to leave this path open. The most important actions are:

- Non-participation in the Budapest consultative meeting;
- No publications arguing directly against the CCP line, Mao Zedong as a person, or other members of the leading group in the PRC;
- Sending an ambassador to Beijing in summer of 1967 in spite of just being an acting PRC ambassador present here in Pyongyang.

Jarck
Acting Ambassador

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 64

[Source: PolA AA, MfAA, G-A 360. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer.]

GDR Embassy to DPRK
Pyongyang, 4 March 1968

Letter on the *Pueblo* Question, from Comrade Jarck to Comrade Hegen

State Secretary and
First Deputy of the Minister of Foreign Affairs
Comrade H e g e n

102 B e r l i n
Marx Engels Square 2

Dear Comrade Hegen!

Following your written instructions of 30 January 1968, I, today, attempt to write down a summary of most relevant events and likely tendencies. For reasons of efficiency, I have chosen to do this by way of letter to you. Enclosed is the most important material drafted during recent weeks. I have left a copy of this letter in our embassy to provide our new ambassador, Comrade Henke with the opportunity to state his opinion after his arrival. As one copy will remain here, I have arranged the classification of the most important material as highly confidential or confidential matters.

On the *Pueblo* Question

So far, negotiations in Panmunjeom are inconclusive with regard to the return of the crew and the ship. Yet, currently, it is very difficult to obtain exact information on the substance of the negotiations. Apparently, both participating sides have agreed to make nothing, or next to nothing, available to the public. Even the Polish and Czechoslovak comrades, who have their representatives on site in Panmunjeom, and have so far briefed me on a regular basis, now encounter problems in following the course of the negotiations. In recent days, attention is, apparently, mainly focused on General Pak Jungguk's proposal to exchange the *Pueblo* crew against patriots imprisoned in South Korea. This proposal forwarded by members of the Neutral Commission is said to have met the interest of the United States. There are doubts, however, whether the South Korean side is willing to hand over prisoners to the U.S. for a swap with the DPRK. According to the Cuban Embassy here, the DPRK demanded, among other things, the extradition of the deputy editor-in-chief of the DPRK news agency [KCNA], who defected in spring of 1967, and the return of the lieutenant from the Korean People's Army, who was arrested during the Seoul events in January 1968. So far, there is no confirmation of this information from any other side. Yet, if the DPRK is really insisting on the extradition of these two, the U.S. will be in an uncomfortable position with South Korea. The latter will be hardly willing to extradite the two, as their return to the DPRK would certainly lead to their retraction of everything they divulged in South Korea to possibly save their heads. It is noteworthy that General Pak Jungguk indicated that a swap of the *Pueblo* crew for Korean patriots would not necessarily require a U.S. apology for the intrusion into DPRK territorial waters. This element increases the attractiveness of the proposal to the United States. It seems that the DPRK will leave it to the U.S. to launch such a proposal by itself during an official meeting.

Judging from the course of negotiations so far, there is only a very slight probability left that the *Pueblo* affair might lead to a heightening of tensions and actually cause a military conflict.

[...]

Jarck

Acting Ambassador

Appendices [not included]

- 1 – On Current State of USSR-DPRK relations (cosmic top secret)
- 2 - On Current State of USSR-PRC relations (top secret)
- 3 – Note on Economic Development in the DPRK 1967 (secret)
- 4 – Information on Vance Visit to South Korea (secret)
- 5 – Information on Editorial “Nodong Sinmun” 27 February 1968
- 6 – Assessment of National Defense (Cosmic Top Secret) (including translation of South Korean news report)
- 7 – Some remarks on Speech by Defense Minister, Army General Kim Jangbong, at the 20th Anniversary of the Korean People’s Army (Secret)
- 8 – On National Policy (Secret)

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 65

[Source: Summary of document, MOL. Translated by Balazs Szalontai.]

Report Prepared by the Hungarian Embassy in Moscow, Summarizing the Views of the Soviet Leadership with regard to the Korean Situation, 27 March 1968

In the view of the Soviets, the North Koreans interpreted the Korean situation quite incorrectly. It was obviously a dangerous miscalculation to believe that the U.S., being bogged down in Vietnam, was incapable of preventing a North Korean attack on South Korea. No matter which interpretation was accepted with regard to the commando raid on the Blue House, this action, and the other commando raids, “could not be taken seriously.” It was quite clear that the South Korean peasantry, which constituted the largest South Korean social group, was loyal to the Park regime. Thus, one should carry out slow, measured activities in South Korea in order to create the basis for a progressive movement, rather than insisting on armed struggle, which, without a solid base, was sheer adventurism. These actions, such as the capture of the *Pueblo*, actually reinforced the position of the South Korean dictatorship, providing it with a pretext to resort to repressive measures and ask for military aid from the U.S.. In fact, thanks to the *Pueblo* incident, Seoul quickly received another \$100 million in military aid. In addition, the Soviets thought that the North Koreans were exaggerating their conflicts with China in order to impress Moscow. For instance, Pyongyang claimed that it did not get any coal from China. However, the Soviets knew that in 1967 the Chinese had sold as much as 1.6 million metric tons of coal to the DPRK, which was not much less than the 2 million tons the North Koreans had asked for.

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DOCUMENT No. 66

[Source: Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Prague, SM-023846/68, Translated by Vojtech Mastny.]

To the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Prague
Military-Political Situation in the DPRK
Pyongyang 04.06.68

Political Report No. 21

Re: No. 21 of the Work Plan Prepared by M. Holub

Following the temporary, relative relaxation of tensions on the Korean peninsula, which became particularly evident in March, a renewed deterioration of the situation was generally expected during the spring months. It was assumed that the political activity of South Korea abroad, which was aimed, above all, at obtaining guarantees by the United States for immediate support in case of a conflict with the DPRK and which accelerated the importation of modern armaments and the arming of the territorial defense forces in the South, would result, in the DPRK as well, in an escalation of military preparations for the unification of the country, which remains the main goal of the leadership here [North Korea?]. This would naturally lead to an overall deterioration of the situation in Korea.

Developments in the second half of April conformed to these expectations. From the 14th to the 28th of April, several incidents took place in the area south of the demarcation line, which reportedly made the so-called 'United Nations forces' suffer casualties of 9 dead and 11 wounded. The North Korean side did not report its own casualties. Most incidents took place in the sector held by the 2nd U.S. Infantry Division in the western part of the Demilitarized Zone. The most serious incident was an attack on a vehicle of the United Nations forces that was accompanying a patrol to Panmunjeom and the Swedish-Swiss camp. The incident took place in the immediate vicinity of the camp of the Western members of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, —at a spot that cannot be reached from the South.

In April, there was also a grenade explosion in the building of the International Telecommunications Exchange in Seoul [...] Soviet friends have been showing impatience in regard to this question [the continued holding of the *Pueblo*]. All friends realize that the DPRK's handling of the *Pueblo* affair has been reverberating against the DPRK's own interest. Soviet representatives have reportedly expressed openly their position along these lines to the [North] Koreans. [...]

In the course of April and at the beginning of May, all means of DPRK propaganda continued to strive to generate the conviction that the Americans were going to provoke war at any time. As part of this propaganda, reports about incidents, even ones involving human casualties, were published that never occurred, and the propaganda did not even try to prove them. During briefings about the April incidents, even the Minister of Foreign Affairs tried to convince the diplomatic corps of the acute danger of war. The country continues to be kept in a state of

combat readiness and the people are being systematically persuaded of the necessity of liberating South Korea. [...]

In May, however, all those who have been following developments in the DPRK noticed an extraordinary calming of the situation, something without parallel in the last years. Although demobilization down to the level of January of this year was not carried out, according to friends, specialists are being released for civilian assignments. [...]

[...] We have been trying to find the causes that have led to and, particularly, forced the DPRK leadership's adoption of new tactics. It is a difficult task in the conditions here, but after thorough discussions with friends and our own reflections, we are convinced that the changes have been prompted by a whole complex of the following causes.

An important cause of the changes is an unfavorable economic situation [...] In a country of such a profound and developed cult of personality, differences of opinion are usually accompanied by sharp intra-party struggle and personnel changes. In connection with the problems mentioned above, rumors have been circulated within the diplomatic corps about the removal of the following Politburo members of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party: Kim Gwanghyeop, who is concurrently Secretary of the Central Committee of the KWP and Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the DPRK, Lee Juyeon (also Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers), and Kim Jangbong, who is also Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers as well as Minister of National Defense. It is a fact that these officials have not appeared in public recently. On the occasion of the visit by Deputy Chairman of the [Soviet] Council of Ministers Novikov, however, Lee Juyeon accompanied the Soviet guest; of course, it cannot be excluded that this was a tactic. Kim Gwanghyeop and Kim Jangbong, reportedly blamed for the failure of the January attempt to assassinate the South Korean president Park Chung-hee, are still missing. In the first half of May, the Minister of Defense was to take a trip to [illegible] at the head of a military delegation. Simultaneously, an extensive reshuffling of intermediate cadres has been taking place in the areas of the economy, ideology, and national unification. On the other hand, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pak Seongcheol has been showing [signs] that he is on the rise and has become, in effect, the third highest-ranking person in the regime.

In the course of the January events and immediately afterwards, during the mobilization and evacuation [periods], serious deficiencies and difficulties became apparent, such as the lack of air defense weapons and limited railroad capacity connecting the DPRK with the USSR.

The developments in South Korea resulting from the attempted assassination of Park Chung-hee and the *Pueblo* affair have been a serious warning for our [North] Korean friends. The situation before January proved that the United States, as well as its partner, South Korea, underestimated, to some extent, the developments within the DPRK. The Americans considered the tenfold increase of incidents in the demilitarized zone in the last year compared to 1966 to be a temporary phenomenon, which could be contained by the installation of electronic detection equipment along the whole demilitarized zone. [...]

Some political events abroad have inevitably influenced the situation in this area. The DPRK is undoubtedly concerned about China's efforts to improve relations with Japan, but [it is] especially concerned by the ongoing U.S./Vietnamese negotiations in Paris, which contradict the thesis that the forces of imperialism should be tied down anywhere in the world, as well as the thesis regarding the unification of the country by military force. Forcible unification can only be realized in conditions of international tension and escalation of war anywhere in the world.

Finally, in view of the above-mentioned factors, the influence of the USSR has been increasing, which has been made possible by, among others, the high level of economic and military assistance. The content of this assistance can be, and in fact is, manipulated (only defensive military technology is being supplied), [which is] quite apart from the fact that Soviet comrades have recently been looking more critically at the developments in the DPRK than was the case during the January events, undoubtedly leading to direct, albeit extremely cautious, interventions.

Among diplomats, there has also been the view that the present situation is the calm before the storm, this being justified by the fact that the high military preparedness has been continuing as has the propaganda campaign aimed at the population and that the changes have concerned phenomena that have, visually, most impressed the observers here. The embassy is nevertheless convinced that the "postponement" of the deadlines for the unification of the country has been imposed upon the [North] Korean leadership by the objective situation and that a removal of the objective causes of the tactical changes will require a longer period of time. The calming is also confirmed by the fact that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs here, which in March urgently demanded that foreign missions build air raid shelters, currently shows no initiative whatsoever on this issue. [...] It is also not to be neglected that the question of national unification or "liberation of the South" has been recently posed more conditionally, emphasizing the necessity of action by patriots in the South.

[...]

Ambassador Holub

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 67

[Source: Russian State Archive of Recent History (RGANI), fond 2, opis 3, delo 95, listy 50-58. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Sergey Radchenko]

9 April 1968

Excerpt from Leonid Brezhnev's Speech at the April (1968) CC CPSU Plenum. "On the Current Problems of the International Situation and on the Struggle of the CPSU for the Unity of the International Communist Movement"

[...]On the international scene during the last several months, events in the Far East have drawn [particular] attention to the incursion of an American military vessel, the *Pueblo*, into [North] Korean [territorial] waters. Despite the limited scale of these events, they had an important principle, both from the point of view of rebuffing the aggressive actions of the U.S. and in terms of our attitude towards certain policy peculiarities of our [North] Korean friends. The Politburo has reported many times to the CC Plenum regarding our policy towards relations with the KWP and the DPRK. The essence of this policy is to consistently strengthen friendly relations with the KWP and the DPRK despite the existence of different approaches between us and the [North] Korean comrades on a series of questions of the international communist movement and other [problems].

On the whole, throughout the course of the entire preceding period, the situation developed precisely along these lines. We developed contacts with the [North] Koreans in various spheres, most importantly in the economic [sphere]. Trade developed; we concluded a series of agreements on cooperative timber clearing, construction of an oil refinery, etc. We continued to provide aid in defending the DPRK. The [North] Korean press stopped publishing unfriendly statements about the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

One should remark, in particular, that during his meetings with us, Comrade Kim Il Sung assured [us] that the [[North] Koreans] do not intend to use military means to solve the problem of uniting North and South Korea and, in this regard, [do not intend] to unleash a war with the Americans, whose forces, as one knows, are stationed in South Korea.

However, several indications, which seem to suggest that the leaders of the DPRK have begun to take a more militant road, have recently appeared. This became particularly noticeable at the time of the incident with the American vessel *Pueblo*.

You know, comrades, the factual side of things. I am talking about the incursion of the American military vessel *Pueblo* into [North] Korean territorial waters. On 23 January of this year, this vessel was detained by DPRK naval forces (as our friends assert, detained in their territorial waters) and, after a firefight, taken to a port, where its [crew] was placed under arrest. One should note that the government of the DPRK's response to this incident appears to be unusually harsh: as a rule, in the practice of international relations, in case of an incursion by a foreign military vessel in the territorial waters of any state, it is simply advised [that the foreign military vessel] leave those waters or be forced to do so.

Washington's reaction was fierce, rude, and aggressive. The U.S. government made accusations and threats towards the DPRK; considerable naval forces and air forces were deployed near North Korea's shores, including the flag carrier of the 7th fleet, the atomic aircraft carrier *Enterprise*. Calls for the mining of Korean ports, the forced return of *Pueblo*, etc. were heard in the U.S.. The Americans clearly counted on the cannon barrels of their ships to force the DPRK's retreat. Besides this, President Johnson used this incident to further increase military preparations and stir up military hysteria on an international scale. New categories of reserves were mobilized within the U.S. army; demonstrative measures were taken to increase military preparedness in Europe.

Under these circumstances, the CC CPSU and the Soviet government found it necessary to voice public support for the DPRK, a socialist country, with which, moreover, we are tied to by a treaty of friendship and mutual assistance. We did as such, supporting the right of the DPRK to defend its security and censuring the aggressive behavior of the U.S.

In addition, the Politburo and the Soviet government considered it worthwhile to exert direct pressure on the U.S. leadership in order to lessen its [the Americans'] urge and desire to inflame provocations in the immediate proximity of the borders of the USSR and with our allied countries. In this regard, a decision was made to send a communication to President Johnson on behalf of the Soviet government.

The 3 February [1968] letter to Johnson drew attention to the fact that the U.S. was concentrating its naval and aerial fleets on an unprecedented scale in the immediate proximity of the Far Eastern regions of the Soviet Union. The American President was told, "in our actions we must take into consideration what is happening near our borders that touches on the security interests of the Soviet Union." At the same time, it was stressed that efforts to threaten and pressure the DPRK can only lead to a dead end and further complications, fraught with far reaching consequences.

Simultaneously, we took certain measures to increase the preparedness of Soviet military forces in the Far East in order to protect the country in case of complications and to let the Americans know that we are not joking but in fact, approach this matter seriously. The adopted measures worked. On 6 February [1968], Johnson sent a reply in which he tried to explain the amassing of U.S. military forces in the Sea of Japan by referencing militant statements and actions of the DPRK, and assured us that a "prompt settlement [of the crisis] serves our common interests." The President's message ended by saying that he "gave an order to stop any further amassing of our naval and air forces at the present time" and decreed that they will pull out one of the aircraft carriers with accompanying vessels from the region of the incident. Indeed, the aircraft carrier *Enterprise* was pulled out from the DPRK's shores.

At the same time, we insistently advised the [North] Korean comrades, with whom we maintained systematic contact throughout this period, to show reserve, not to give the Americans an excuse to widen provocations and to settle the incident by political means. When it became clear to the entire world that the U.S. attempts to make the DPRK retreat through blackmail and military threats had failed and when the U.S. government was forced to conduct talks with DPRK representatives in Panmunjeom regarding *Pueblo*, we expressed our opinion to the [North] Korean leadership that now, without any harm and even with political advantage for the DPRK, they could finish this affair by disgracefully deporting the crew of the U.S. spy vessel from the territory of North Korea.

But the [North] Korean comrades maintained a fairly extreme position and did not show any inclination towards settling the incident. DPRK propaganda took on a fairly militant characteristic; the population was told that a war could begin any day and that the military forces of the DPRK were "ready to smash American imperialism." In effect, a full mobilization was declared in the country; life, especially in the cities, became more militaristic. Evacuation of the population, administrative institutions, industries, and factories of Pyongyang began.

At the same time, the leadership of the DPRK took one more step that alarmed us. On 31 January [1968], Kim Il Sung addressed an official letter to Comrade Kosygin, the head of the USSR Council of Ministers. This letter said that “Johnson’s clique could at any time engage in a military adventure in [North] Korea,” that the policy of the American imperialists “is a rude challenge to the DPRK and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who are bound together by allied relations according to the treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance; [it is] a serious threat to the security of all socialist countries and to peace in the entire world”.

This message further officially informed the Soviet government on behalf of the government of the DPRK that they were “forced to conduct preparations to give the aggression an appropriate rebuff” and [the letter] expressed confidence that “in case of the creation of a state of war in [North] Korea as a result of a military attack by the American imperialists, the Soviet government and the fraternal Soviet people will fight together with us against the aggressors...”

Kim Il Sung’s letter ended with a proposal: in case such a situation materialized, “[you should] provide us, without delay, military and other aid and support, to mobilize all means available.”

Matters took a serious turn.

An official communication along government lines, bypassing comradely consultations along party lines, which are usual in such cases, spoke to the intention [of the [North] Korean leadership] to bind the Soviet Union somehow, using the existence of the treaty between the USSR and the DPRK [as a pretext to] involve us in supporting such plans of the [North] Korean friends about which we knew nothing. The CC Politburo believed that the time had come to state our attitude clearly to the [North] Korean comrades regarding these questions and certain peculiarities of their policies that concern our country.

Without giving an official reply to Kim Il Sung’s message, we addressed a communication to him, [asking him] to come to Moscow for a comprehensive exchange of opinions regarding this situation which has emerged. Comrade Kim Il Sung replied that, at the present time, circumstances did not permit him to leave the country. Member of the KWP CC Politburo, Deputy Premier and Minister of Defense Kim Jangbong was [instead] dispatched to Moscow for the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Soviet army.

On the Politburo’s instructions, I received Kim Jangbong on 26 February [1968] and had a long discussion with him, in the course of which [I] expressed in all earnestness our position on a series of important questions.

He was told that we still depart from the assumption that the Korean comrades maintain a course for the peaceful unification of Korea, for we are not aware of [any] changes [to this course]. In any case, under the current circumstances, we are against taking the matter towards unleashing a war, though we fully understand the desire of the DPRK to strengthen its own defense, and we actively support this. We do not understand the meaning of the information that reached us regarding the evacuation of Pyongyang. We have no information from [our [North] Korean] friends regarding their talks with the Americans and the aims of these talks.

As far as the question of the Soviet-[North] Korean treaty and Kim Il Sung's letter regarding this question are concerned, Kim Jangbong was told literally the following: "We indeed have a treaty. Its essence is known both to you and to us. We would like to stress that it has a defensive character and is an instrument of defending the peace-loving position of North Korea. Since Comrade Kim Il Sung did not put the circumstances and the details of the current situation into a concrete form, we consider it very important to conduct serious consultations with him on this question. The question of military actions is a very difficult one, especially under the current circumstances, when the entire world struggles against war. It is impossible to talk about a military situation, much less about some kind of military action, by means of short letters. This is a very serious question, and it demands serious consultations."

At the same time, an opinion was expressed again that the question of the *Pueblo* crew, the whole incident, should be settled by political means without much delay, otherwise the DPRK could lose the serious political gain obtained at the early stage of this incident.

There are reasons to think that the measures taken by the Politburo have born fruit. In any case, one could note the following facts:

1. Soon after the conversation with Kim Jangbong, the DPRK Foreign Ministry published a statement that emphasized "the government of the DPRK, both now and in the past, has not changed its policy directed at the preservation of peace in Korea and the peaceful solution of the question of the unification of Korea."
2. The [North] Koreans informed our ambassador regarding the progress of talks with the Americans. One should say that these talks have taken on a fairly protracted character. The [North] Koreans are demanding official apologies from the U.S., the Americans are offering various compromises, but an agreement has not yet been reached.
3. The [North] Korean comrades made it known to the United States through neutral countries that they are prepared to exchange the *Pueblo* crew for patriots arrested in South Korea, and that in this case, they will not demand apologies from the U.S.
4. On 1 March [1968], Kim Il Sung invited the ambassador of the USSR and asked him to pass onto Moscow his gratitude for the conversation with Kim Jangbong and for the sincere exposition of the opinion of the CC CPSU. At the same time, Kim Il Sung assured him that the evacuation activities conducted in Pyongyang were not out of any emergency, that measures have been taken to stop panicky rumors, and corrections are being made to the statements of the DPRK press. In conclusion, Kim Il Sung said: "we have no intention of raising military hysteria." Indeed, the tone of the [North] Korean press has recently become calmer.
5. There is also information that the local authorities in the DPRK have been instructed not to overdo various kinds of mobilization-related activities: evacuation of people, industries, and factories. "War is not a question of tomorrow," Kim Il Sung declared at one of the closed meetings in Pyongyang in the beginning of March.

This is how the incident with the vessel *Pueblo* is developing. It [the incident], as one knows, is not yet finished, and the situation might deteriorate yet again. However, the atmosphere has relaxed somewhat, the passions on the [North] Korean and American sides have calmed down. On the whole, one might say that by pursuing in this affair our consistent [and] principled line, we managed, first of all, to chip away at the American arrogance [*sbit spes*], to rebuff their

blackmail and threats and, secondly, to exert considerable dissuading influence on the leadership of the DPRK, especially in connection with the question of the treaty, which holds important meaning for the state interests of the Soviet Union. [...]

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 68

[Source: PolA AA, MfAA, G-A 360. Obtained for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer and translated for NKIDP by Karen Riechert]

GDR Embassy to DPRK
Pyongyang, 29 July 1968

Memorandum

on the Farewell Visit of the Polish Ambassador to the DPRK, Comrade Naperei, with Comrade Jarck on 26 July 1968 between 11:00 and 12:30 hours

The visit was arranged on Polish initiative. Despite my attempt to persuade Comrade Naperei to allow me to visit him in the Polish Embassy, he insisted on coming to the GDR Ambassador's residence. Comrade Naperei thanked us for our cooperation, which made his work during his stay in the DPRK easier. He is convinced that it [Polish-GDR cooperation] will thrive also in the future and be of mutual benefit to both sides given the situation here [in Pyongyang].

[...]

There are still ongoing attempts to infiltrate armed units in the South. It is, however, getting ever more difficult to actually accomplish this, as the entire land border is, basically, hermetically sealed. Yet, it is said that recently four small units were still able to infiltrate the border. In response, there was a large search effort launched by the South in the areas north of Seoul. Allegedly, some members of these groups were captured when they had to surrender due to lack of food.

Comrade N. continued that the Polish comrades, given their local expertise, do not exclude the possibility that, in light of the complications of infiltrating groups [in the South?], the DMZ might be breached through a much larger [DPRK] armed unit. This breach could be utilized to infiltrate South Korea, and the larger unit could then withdraw behind the DMZ. However, Comrade N. added so far there is no evidence whatsoever of such intentions.

As far as South Korean-American activities are concerned, there is no evasion of the fact that there are apparently frequent provocations of the North from South Korean forces along the DMZ. Primarily, those provocations are perpetrated with handguns but are also sometimes perpetrated with heavier weaponry and by direct attacks on individual border guards or the like. Those parts of the DMZ manned by Americans, basically, do not see these types of incidents.

There is no doubt that the South Koreans are interested in increasing tensions in order to make further demands of the U.S. for more financial and military support.

With regard to the *Pueblo* negotiations, Comrade N. does not see any new movement. The DPRK still insists that the U.S. make an unconditional apology. In this context, Comrade N. referred to a talk he had with DPRK Foreign Minister Pak Seongcheol during a reception for a Polish national holiday. At this reception, Comrade Pak Seongcheol stated that all of the *Pueblo* crew will have to take responsibility if those who are in fact responsible [for the incident?] are still unwilling to admit their guilt. Comrade N. followed up by asking Comrade Pak Seongcheol the meaning of the phrase: 'Are you possibly thinking of staging a trial against the *Pueblo* crew in the near future?' Comrade Pak Seongcheol evaded a straight response but indicated that it was not acceptable that the Americans think further procrastination of an apology will be completely risk-free for them. Given this context, Comrade N. nevertheless stated to me his current opinion that the *Pueblo* problem will not lead to the rise of serious tensions. However, he added that obviously a trial of the crew may change this and lead to heightened conflict.

[...]

In conclusion, I informed Comrade Naperei of my own meeting with Comrade Pak Seongcheol on 20 July 1968.

Jarck
Acting Ambassador

CC

1x State Secretary Hegen (Foreign Ministry)
1x Central Committee, Department IV, Markowski
1x Foreign Ministry, Information Department, Comrade Pfütznier
1x Embassy/Secretariat

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 69

[Source: PoIA AA, MfAA, G-A 320. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer].

GDR Embassy to the DPRK
Pyongyang, 29 July 1968

Note

On a Conversation with the 1st Secretary of the USSR Embassy to the DPRK,
Comrade Zvetkov, and Comrade Jarck on 26 July 1968
between 1430 and 1615 Hours in the USSR Embassy

During my last talk with Comrade Zvetkov I had asked him whether there was a meeting scheduled with top officials while a Soviet delegation was present to participate in a session of the joint Korean-Soviet consultative economic committee. Comrade Zvetkov confirmed this and promised to inform me about the substance of this meeting [with Kim Il Sung].

At the beginning, I informed Comrade Zvetkov about my meeting with DPRK Foreign Minister Pak Songcheol (see Note VD Nr. 54/68 [not included]). Following that, Comrade Zvetkov made these remarks:

[Soviet Deputy Prime Minister] Comrade [Vladimir] Novikov was received by Kim Il Sung on 31 May 1968. Comrade N. brought the greetings of the leading comrades in the USSR and made some brief remarks about domestic developments in the Soviet Union. Then Kim Il Sung made the following statements about the domestic situation in the DPRK:

[...] [economic DPRK details for 1967 and 1968]

Regarding the DPRK's foreign policy, Comrade Kim Il Sung stated the following:

Relations with the USSR and the European socialist countries are going well, as are those with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Yet there is a complete standstill in relations with the PRC China except for in trade, which is, however, also in bad shape. Though a foreign trade protocol was signed in 1968 between the PRC and the DPRK, it is clear that PRC is not going to fulfill its obligations. In many cases, Comrade Kim Il Sung explained, the Chinese do not actually possess what they promised to deliver. Approximately 50% of obligations to deliver coke and coke coal have been realized. There are no contacts or exchanges of delegations between the KWP and CCP.

Comrade Kim Il Sung exclaimed that the DPRK's position is clear on the "Pueblo" question. The DPRK will release the Pueblo crew when the American side issues an apology. As the U.S. is apparently in no hurry to do so, the DPRK will also not speed up the return of the crew. Comrade Kim Il Sung added that he thinks there will be no deterioration of the situation [on the Korean peninsula] because of the Pueblo incident.

The remarks Kim Il Sung made about the situation in South Korea, Comrade Zvetkov stated, can be summarized in the thesis that South Korea exploited the Pueblo incident to receive extensive American military aid. At present, and in the immediate future, South Korea is going to receive modern fighter aircraft and other modern weapons and equipment. Comrade Zvetkov noted confidently that the Pueblo incident had a stake in this. But one must not overlook the events in Seoul [Blue House raid] before the Pueblo incident as the primary reason for the U.S to submit to South Korean pressure for the delivery of modern weapons and equipment.

[...] [Korean requests for Soviet economic aid]

Furthermore, Comrade Kim Il Sung asked Comrade Novikov to forward the following request to the leading comrades of the USSR:

The government of the DPRK is requesting the government of the USSR for permission to use an air route for special flights by members of the [North Korean] party leadership or the government, which would fly over the mainland straight from the DPRK into the USSR. This way, any contact with Chinese territory or flight over the open sea would be avoided. Explaining this request, Comrade Kim Il Sung said that a forced landing might happen on flights over Chinese territory and insults by Red Guards might occur. The flight route over the sea would be dangerous, especially after the Pueblo incident. Comrade Zvetkov stated that Comrade Kim Il Sung had further added: 'We do not fear death, but we have to live in order to finish the revolution.'

In conclusion, Comrade Kim Il Sung affirmed that the Korean comrades are always aware that the USSR liberated the country, that Soviet people shed their blood in Korea, and that the Korean people will always want friendship with the USSR and honor its deeds. The Korean comrades are pleased that relations are developing well since 1964.

[...] [on North Korean unification strategy]

Jarck
Acting Ambassador

CC

1x State Secretary Comrade Hegen [Foreign Ministry]
1x Central Committee, Department IV [International Relations], Comrade Markowski
1x Embassy, Secretariate

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 70

[Source: PolA AA, MfAA, G-A 320. Obtained for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer and translated for NKIDP by Karen Riechert]

GDR Embassy to DPRK
Pyongyang, 8 August 1968

Memorandum

on a Conversation between the First Secretary in the USSR Embassy, Comrade Zvetkov and Comrade Jarck on 7 August 1968 between 17:00 and 19:00 hours

The conversation had been scheduled during our last meeting. Its purpose was to inform the undersigned about South Korean military activities. Comrade Zvetkov provided the following information on this subject.

After the events in Seoul in January 1968 and the seizure of the American spy ship *Pueblo*, the South Korean government used these events, following consultations and talks with the U.S., for

the preparation of a so-called 'three-year-plan' to defend South Korea's security. This plan has either been already approved, or will be approved shortly, by the South Korean National Assembly.

The most important elements of this plan, according to information received by a representative socialist country in Panmunjeom [Poland or, less likely, Czechoslovakia], are as follows:

- Training and arming 2.5 million South Korean reservists for the fight against the so-called 'infiltration' from the North.
- Training of South Korean pilots in the United States to enable them to fly the "Phantom" aircraft scheduled to arrive in South Korea by the end of 1968.
- Equipping the South Korean army with modern speed boats, radar stations, signal stations, electrical and electronic means of communication, the M-16 gun, and special vehicles for roads and tracks in order to speed up troop transports. This equipment is scheduled for delivery from the United States. Probably, these deliveries will be funded by the additional \$100 million military credit that was agreed to during the visit of U.S. Presidential Envoy [Cyrus] Vance to South Korea, i.e. it will not be part of the \$230 million the U.S. annually spends on its forces deployed in South Korea.
- Creating a staged defense system, south of the DMZ, that reaches to the capital of Seoul. This system should consist of five defense lines. Each line will have a system of trenches with bunkers and stationary gun points. Bunkers and gun points are designed to weather 150 millimeter artillery fire. Costs for the five defensive lines should be shouldered by the U.S. Apparently, the United States has already agreed to this.
- By the end of 1968, construction of border security equipment on South Korean territory along the DMZ will be finalized. It includes bunkers to be built at certain segments of the DMZ.
- Bolstering South Korean air defense through the deployment of launching pads for "Hawk" missiles (surface-to-air). Altogether approximately 30 launching pads are to be built, 7 of those surrounding Seoul.
- Establishing security zones around important industrial and military objects and introducing special permits for movements, prohibition on taking photos, etc.
- Expanding and constructing important roads, in particular, between Seoul and Busan and Seoul and Incheon. At the same time, bridges will be expanded or built anew.
- Construction permits for industrial objects or residential living are only to be granted by the South Korean bureaucracy if the project can prove it has integrated air defense capacities.
- Call to the entire population to prepare with all means available for potential air attacks.

The justification outlined for this 'three-year-plan' stipulates that all elements are considered to be preventative measures against potential attacks from the DPRK.

This plan is said to have been discussed in principle during the April 1968 meeting in Honolulu between Park Chung-hee and [Lyndon] Johnson. In May 1968, there were detailed negotiations in Washington over this complex [plan?] between then South Korean Defense Minister Choi Yeonghee and U.S. Secretary of Defense Clifford. The U.S. is said to have agreed to the plan. This means that the United States has signed up for shouldering the additional costs.

Jarck
Acting Ambassador

CC
1x State Secretary Hegen (Foreign Ministry)
1x Comrade Axen (Central Committee)
1x Embassy/Secretariat

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 71

[Source: National Archives and Records Administration, RG 59, Central Files 1967-69, POL 33-6 KOR N-US. Secret; Nodis. Drafted by Brown on December 2.]

Action Memorandum From the Under Secretary of State (Katzenbach) to President Johnson

Washington, December 3, 1968.

SUBJECT
USS *Pueblo*

The Problem

The North Koreans have continued to insist that we sign their document admitting espionage and repeated intrusions, apologizing for these "crimes," and promising not to intrude again. They have denounced us for proposing an "overwrite" solution in which General Woodward would add in his own hand a phrase acknowledging receipt of the crew. They have not categorically rejected our proposal; rather they have refused to accept it, they have attacked us for putting it forward, and they have shown no sign of moderating their demand.

Recent Developments

The meetings in September made it clear to us that the North Koreans are willing to give us back the crew at the moment (or almost the moment) we sign their document. There would still be some procedural problems but they seem manageable

The meetings in October made clear to the North Koreans what they may not have understood: that we are not prepared to sign their document but only to *acknowledge receipt on it*. We have not explained to them in so many words that we intend, after the release, to denounce the document, hanging our repudiation on this distinction between "signing" and "acknowledging receipt on," and saying that we had *signed* only what Woodward had himself written. But there is no doubt that they now understand this intent. They have denounced our proposal as a "petty stratagem" designed to "evade your responsibilities," and at present they appear determined not to leave this loophole open.

We called the last meeting (October 31) very quickly on the heels of the preceding one in order to appear firm in our stand. They hesitated for three days before agreeing to meet, but their position at the meeting was unyielding and they may merely have been taken a bit off balance by the unusual speed of our move. It is now their turn to call and they have made no move since October 31 to convene a session.

Our Choices

We can (1) stand on the overwrite proposal, perhaps with minor variations; or (2) sign their document, prefacing our signature with an explanatory statement and repudiating the document as soon as the crew are free.

Time for a Squeeze Play

The fact that Christmas is approaching and that the Administration will soon change offers us an opportunity to give the North Koreans an ultimatum without grave risk of breaking off the talks. We can call a meeting, give them a package of proposals, and say: "Take your choice; these offers are good only if you accept one of them in time to get the men home for Christmas. This Administration will then withdraw them and will make no further proposals." If this ploy failed, the new Administration would be free to resume the negotiations on whatever lines it chose.

Variations on Standing Pat

We can simply offer to the North Koreans our present overwrite proposal, giving them the Christmas deadline to take it or leave it.

We can also revive the alternative of a conditional apology ("if we intruded, we are sorry") which we made last Spring and which was bluntly rejected then. We would dress it up in new language so that it might on the surface seem a new element but we would not include the unacceptable North Korean demands: the flat admission of "espionage" and of repeated intrusions. If the North Koreans are minded to settle the issue, this might satisfy their need for a piece of paper with General Woodward's name at the bottom.

A Repudiated Apology

It is reasonably clear that if we simply sign their document we will promptly get the men back. The pros and cons of this course make an intricate argument which is summarized at Tab A. We do not recommend an outright apology, since it would be costly in foreign policy terms, but we recognize that the argument for an apology appeals to many reasonable men.

We could mitigate some, though not all, of the evil in an outright apology by coupling our signature with a simultaneous or perhaps even prior repudiation of the content of the North Korean document. We could, for example, have General Woodward say into the cameras and tape recorders just before he signs that, as has been made clear in the negotiations, the United States Government does not believe the *Pueblo* committed espionage or intruded, and that he is signing for the purely humanitarian reasons of getting the crew back. We are far from certain that the North Koreans would accept this procedure if warned about it in advance, and if not warned, they might at the last minute refuse to transfer the crew. And even such a "repudiated apology" would have demeaning elements from our viewpoint. Nevertheless, some variation on this ploy deserves serious consideration for inclusion in our take-it-or-leave-it package.

We would tell the North Koreans that we are now prepared to sign their document but will have to make a statement, before we actually sign, that their document contains statements which we consider false, and that our signature does not alter these facts. Release of the crew and publication of the signed North Korean document would follow. Our repudiation would be released to the press simultaneously with their document. We would have settled the problem through mutual acceptance of two wholly inconsistent statements.

We doubt that the North Koreans would accept this alternative, but they might. If they did, we would have paid a substantial but not exorbitant price to close out the problem.

The most dangerous aspect of such a proposal is that it places on the negotiating record an offer by us to sign their document. The North Koreans are certain to regard this as an indication that we are gradually knuckling under and they will simply press us to remove our attached condition--the repudiation. The "squeeze play" described above does much to meet this danger, but perhaps not enough. The North Koreans may well feel that if they disregard our ultimatum we will come back after Christmas or after January 20 with an unconditional offer to apologize.

We believe that this additional offer of a "repudiated apology" has a better chance of success than the others, but the costs to us in foreign policy terms would still be serious. We therefore are inclined to adopt the following more limited package, despite its relatively small chance of success, i.e., to say to the North Koreans that we are prepared to accept either of the following alternatives provided that it will result in the release of the crew before Christmas. If neither of these offers is accepted, they will both be withdrawn after Christmas and the North Koreans will then have to deal with the new Administration. The proposals would be:

- a. Our present overwrite proposal.
- b. A conditional apology similar to that offered last May, but in new language.

You may wish to discuss this problem with Secretaries Rusk and Clifford.

Tab A

SHOULD WE APOLOGIZE?

Nature of the Case

The arguments in favor of signing the North Korean document come down to two propositions:

- a. It is the only humane thing to do since it is clear that unless we sign the North Koreans will not release the crew--certainly not for a long time.
- b. It is disadvantageous politically for us to let the affair drag on.

The argument against signing comes down to the single proposition that this Government should not solemnly place its authorized signature on a document it knows to be false, particularly if acting under blackmail and duress.

Apart from these, there are many secondary arguments--about the credibility gap, about the effects in South Korea and on our commitments in general, etc. In our judgment, these arguments tend to balance each other off or to fall in the category "an apology wouldn't really be so bad because . . ." They thus should not be decisive in determining whether we apologize or not.

The Argument for Apologizing

Only when we sign their document will we get the crew back. If only because the North Korean charges are lies, they will insist on a piece of paper from us validating their lies. They have been and will remain wholly inflexible on this point. We have no means of pressure which look promising. All reasonable people know the North Korean charges are false and that we would be signing purely from humanitarian considerations. We would not be seriously damaged by a signature and we owe it to the crew and their families to pay this price for their release.

Moreover, there are political problems in allowing the matter to stagnate. It reminds people of our impotence and generates pressure for unwise actions, such as seizing North Korean ships. Better to cut the knot, even at some cost.

Assessing the case. It is probably true that the North Koreans will not soon accept any compromise, such as our overwrite proposal. And we do not seem to have any effective pressures against them. The humanitarian argument is the most valid argument for signature. We do not believe the political argument is valid. If we resolve neither to apologize nor to do anything that might risk war or violate our basic principles, the political pressures can be contained.

The Argument Against Apologizing

The evil effects of signing a false document under pressure would be widespread, insidious, and long-lasting. Most foreign governments and even many Americans are puzzled by our reluctance to utter untruths but they respect us for this eccentricity. The Communist doctrine that truth is relative and can legitimately be manipulated is a major difference between them and us. If we sign we will have seriously damaged our good name.

Assessing the case. Many reasonable people find this argument vague and idealistic. We find it profoundly true. If we were to apologize, the price paid for freeing the men would be substantial, though hard to define. It would not be costly in the short run since the general relief and gratification that they were free would combine with their own revelations to override the negative elements. Nor would it impair faith in our security commitments which are on quite another level of solemnity and gravity. But over the long run the fact that in this case we had bent our principles for tactical, even though humanitarian, considerations would have to be counted, a serious cost. Whether we owe it to the men to pay this price, or should look on them as on other prisoners of war, is a question to which individual consciences and political philosophies will give varying answers. The price in international political terms would be considerable.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 72

[Source: PoIA AA, MfAA, C 1366/74. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer.]

GDR Embassy to the PR China
Beijing, 30 October 1969

Note

on a Club Meeting of the Ambassadors and Acting Ambassadors from the GDR, USSR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Mongolia and Bulgaria on 24 October 1969 in the USSR Embassy

[...] [Chinese domestic policy]

On Foreign Policy:

[...] On Chinese-Korean relations Comrade Chuluunbaatar [Mongolia] reported about a meeting that a Mongolian parliamentary delegation visiting the DPRK in mid-October had with Kim Il Sung. Kim Il Sung said there had been a couple of issues in relations between the DPRK and the PRC. However, the DPRK had acted with patience. In South Korea there are currently one million soldiers in arms trained for a war against the North. The DPRK is prepared as well and ready to fight at any time. The socialist countries must fight jointly against imperialism. In this situation the DPRK had to under all circumstances avoid having an additional enemy at its back; thus it undertook certain steps to improve relations with China. Although the PRC did not send a delegation to the DPRK National Day [8 September], the DPRK dispatched a high-ranking delegation to Beijing for the 1st of October [Chinese National Day, Anniversary of PRC Foundation), though deliberately somewhat belatedly. [...]

[Heribert] Kunz

3rd Secretary

CC

2x Foreign Ministry, Department Far East

1x Embassy

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 73

[Source: Archives of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, 43/1971. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

Minutes of Conversation on the Occasion of the Party and Government Delegation on behalf of the Romanian Socialist Republic to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

-
- Pyongyang, June 10, 1971 –

Participants to the talks:

- on the Romanian side: Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the State Council of the Romanian Socialist Republic (RSR), Ion Gheorghe Maurer, member of the Executive Committee of the Permanent Presidium of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (CC RCP), President of the Council of Ministers, Manea Mănescu, member of the Executive Committee, of the Permanent Presidium, Secretary of the CC RCP, Vice-president of the State Council, Dumitru Popa, member of the Executive Committee of the CC RCP, first secretary of the Bucharest Party City Committee, Mayor of Bucharest, Ion Iliescu, deputy member of the Executive Committee, secretary of the CC RCP, George Macovescu, member of the CC PCR, first deputy of the Minister of Foreign Affairs (MFA), Aurel Mălnășan, Romanian Ambassador to Pyongyang, Emilian Dobrescu and Constantin Mitea, deputy members of the CC RCP, councilors of the CC RCP.

- On the Korean side: Comrade Kim Il Sung, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea (KWP), President of the Ministers' Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), Choe Yeonggeon, member of the Political Committee, secretary of the KWP CC, President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly, Kim Il, member of the Political Committee, secretary of the CC KWP, first Vice-premier of the Council of Ministers, Pak Seongcheol, member of the Political Committee of the CC KWP, second Vice-president of the Ministers' Cabinet, Oh Jinu, member of the Political Committee, secretary of the KWP CC, Joint Chief of Staff of the People's Army, Yang Hyeongseop, alternate member of the Political Committee, secretary of the KWP CC, Jeong Juntaek, alternate member of the Political Committee, Vice-president of the Ministers' Cabinet, Heo Dam, member of the Political Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kim Yongnam, member of the Political Committee, first deputy of the Foreign Section, Chief of the CC KWP, and Kang Yangseop, ambassador of the DPRK to the RSR.

The talks began at 10:30.

Comrade Kim Il Sung: Please allow me, on behalf of the Central Committee and the Ministers' Cabinet, to welcome the party and government delegation of the Romanian Socialist Republic, led by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

As we haven't had talks in ages, I think we have a lot of issues to discuss and to inform each other of. I believe this meeting will provide us with the occasion to improve the cooperation between our parties and our countries.

We would like to allow Comrade Ceausescu to start first, to present the matters that interest him.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: I would like to thank you for the extremely warm welcome and, at the same time, I would like, on behalf of the Central Committee, State Council and the Romanian government, to cordially greet the party and state leadership of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, led by Comrade Kim Il Sung

I completely agree with Comrade Kim Il Sung that we must exchange opinions and information [on a wide variety of topics] on the activity of our parties, our governments and our peoples in matters such as the socialist construction, bilateral relations, and other issues of common interest. I think this would be very useful.

I thought that as guests we shall first listen to what the hosts have to say.

Comrade Kim Il Sung: We have this custom of giving the floor first to our guests.

Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu: Indeed, we have this custom too, but we thought Korea had other customs.

I shall start by briefly presenting a report on the problems of the socialist construction in Romania. [...]

The conversation ended at 12:50 PM.

Discussions were resumed at 4 PM.

Comrade Kim Il Sung: Concerning party activity, I would like to say a few words. At the Fifth Congress of Korean Worker's Party, we counted 1.6 million members. Among the main attributions of the party, there is the duty to strengthen the leadership capacity of party organizations, especially within industrial enterprises. A new feature in the statute of the Korean Worker's Party, after the Fifth Congress, is that we now have members of the Central Committee, alternate members of the Central Committee, and candidates for the positions of alternate member of the Central Committee. These candidates are capable members of the party within enterprises and other work places, activists from the provinces and counties. This enables us to be aware, throughout our meetings, of what party members have to say, through these candidates.

Another current top priority of our party is the ideological revolution. We are a divided, dismantled country. Half of our territory is exploited by the bourgeoisie and the landowning class. We are not as united as you are. We have liberated half of the country but the other half is still under occupation. The old generation was replaced. People living nowadays don't know how capitalists look like. They don't know what Japanese imperialism means, they are not aware of American imperialism.

All these are [significant] issues for us. Those who carried out the revolution in the past are old now. We now have new elements in the system who did not have to confront the same hardships and whose life is relatively easy. We wouldn't have had the same problems and we wouldn't have been so concerned if the situation in South Korea had been different. Within the army, concerning the leaders of large units and even divisions, they are well trained against the Japanese and the Americans since they fought against them, but the younger cadres in the army are not well trained for direct confrontation. The ones who fought against the Americans are already old by now. These young cadres don't know how Americans look; they heard about them from stories. They saw them in movies, [but] they don't know much and haven't lived in hardship. Small unit commanders don't know that during battles our soldiers had to wear shoes made of straw. They are not aware of certain economic aspects like the tithe, rent, and so on. For all of these, education on class-struggle is necessary. In our case, education on class-struggle is emphasized less and less. Unless we manage to increase our hatred against exploiters, against the Japanese and the Americans, we will face hardship in the case of a new war.

Concerning the activity of our party, we are faced with some important problems like the ideological education in the class-struggle spirit. Moreover, we are striving to include in this education the transformation of human beings according to the model of the worker – to educate the youth and other social classes on a worker-oriented mindset. In addition, we need to pay attention to the intelligentsia.

Currently, in South Korea, the intelligentsia is carrying out revolutionary activities. South Korean intellectuals are studying our concerns for developing our society. They are very concerned about them; they want to see what our attitude towards the intelligentsia is, so that when the socialist revolution would triumph there, they want to know whether the new socialist system will continue to use them or will eliminate them. For this reason, we are striving to educate this layer of the intelligentsia in the spirit of labor and insure that it will last infinitely. Only in this way we will manage to attract the South Korean intelligentsia on our side and we will manage to consolidate this common front in the view of unifying [the country]. We are striving, as part of the general activity of the party, to achieve the monolithic unity of the party. The decisive role and force of the party were obvious both in the economic activity of the country and in the army. All problems are discussed by the party and all decisions are taken by it.

In our case, too, I must confess, we eliminated the director-based system in economic units. We discuss and solve all problems within the party committee; therefore, party committees have been enlarged recently. I believe this is the most suitable method for our country.

In the remaining time, I will stop talking about the situation in North Korea and I will switch to the situation in South Korea.

Before this, I would like to add one more thing: within our party there were some divergences of opinion, but these problems were solved.

As you know, geographically we are surrounded by the Japanese, the Chinese, the Americans and the Soviets. We are surrounded by three great powers and their influence can be felt.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: Therefore, you are in the best position!

Comrade Kim Il Sung: For this reason, within our party we have a principle-based system, that of our own policies, irrespective of the influence exerted by one party or another. For this reason, we are increasing this ideological activity in our party too. We do not know any other ideology

but ours. This principle was consolidated with the help of an ideology in accordance with the conditions and activities that take place in our country. Of course, our party does not reject the experience of other parties or other countries, but we try to take only the best from others, only what is necessary to us; we are tasting, and what we don't like, we don't take; why should we consume something bitter when our metabolism is already accustomed to what we have; if it's not [accustomed], then it's not, but this should not be qualified as nationalism.

We consider that the achievement of the revolution in good conditions in our country is an achievement for the global revolution. Our revolution is a part of the global revolution, but the Korean revolution must be carried out by the Koreans themselves. You support the principle of autonomy. So do we. *Juche* is exactly the same thing.

We had a few problems of principle within our party but we solved them and currently, our party is united; all party members salute and follow the party's policies. Allow me to tell you a few words about the situation in South Korea. I won't talk about it for too long though.

The problem, in general, is unification. There are some people who blame us for abandoning the unification of the country through peaceful means. We did not give up this option, this is actually our guiding principle. If we don't manage to unify the country by peaceful means, we don't envisage another solution. The main problem in South Korea and the things that have to be solved there are supposed to be the responsibility of the South Koreans. The way to solve this problem in South Korea depends on the concrete circumstances and on the respective opportunities. That it will be peaceful, that it will be revolutionary or not, all this depends on the growing revolutionary impetus in South Korea. We do not want to force anything; we don't want to rush things, because we cannot exert any pressure.

South Korea is linked to Japan through agreements; they signed such agreements with the Americans as well – and these are military agreements. We have friendship and mutual assistance agreements with the People's Republic of China and with the Soviet Union. The outbreak of a conflict between the North and the South will definitely involve the Soviet Union and China, as well as Japan and the United States. If we are not careful enough, we could trigger a global-scale war out of an Asian conflict. The peoples of the world will not welcome this and they don't want this to happen; neither the People's Republic of China nor the Soviet Union wants to get involved in such a confrontation. To our mind, the South Koreans are not more willing to enter such a clash; Americans don't want to continue this fight. The Americans let us know that it's not their intention to fight the Koreans again. They transmitted their intention through Podgorny. We then asked Podgorny to tell the Americans that we didn't want it either, but to be careful and keep away from us, because if they create situations like Pueblo and E.C. 121, then we are entitled to capturing them or to shooting them down. We keep our business to our territory, we don't do it in the waters of the United States of America. It's obvious that unless they came into our territorial waters, we couldn't have captured or sunken their vessels.

There are other comrades that blame us for increasing tensions in the region, but we are telling you that we don't need something like that. If we are asked about the probability of war, we could say yes, such a probability exists. If there hadn't been the conflicts we mentioned, if vessels like the Pueblo hadn't crossed into our territorial waters, if American spy planes like the EC 121 [hadn't flown over our territory], we of course would not have reacted like that. When Comrade Podgorny came and told us this, we advised him that instead of telling us that we were increasing tensions in the region, he should go and talk to the Americans and tell them to stop acting like they had.

Should the Americans withdraw from South Korea, there wouldn't be any reasons for such incidents, because the South Koreans do not have the material and military basis for such things, and therefore, the main reason for such a conflict would not exist.

Regarding the existence of the danger of a war, the reason is just one: the presence of the Americans in South Korea. They know we neighbor the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union and that we are close with other countries of the world, so they wouldn't dare to do anything, especially because they have the experience of the past war.

If the Americans pull out of South Korea, the possibility of a war becomes limited. Except for this, what other danger is there? There would be that of Japanese militarism. The Americans have had the sad experience of a war with us; they have the one in Vietnam too and they can only envisage technical support for the South Koreans but they don't even consider the human casualties involved. Nixon said that the place of Americans in South Korea should be taken over by the Japanese. Concerning the revival of Japanese militarism, there are many elements pointing to it. We have a lot of materials proving it. I don't have the time and I don't intend to present them to you. Sato made his intentions to dominate and rule over the territory of South Korea clear on several occasions. Park Chung Hee is considering taking advantage of the Japanese and getting economic and military assistance on their backs and when he feels ready, he will attack North Korea. This is his mindset, in his subconscious. In his mind, a certain plan emerged, namely to defeat communism and to unify the country. Therefore, this would be the plan of Park Chung Hee. But the problem should be put this way: can communism be defeated? I think this is impossible. He himself admits that for the time being, communism cannot be defeated. He is making 7 or even 8-year plans regarding the development of the economy, the strengthening of the army, and then, when he feels more powerful than the North, he will pursue the unification of the country. In other words, unification is not possible now. When will it be possible? He says that it will be possible when the South is more powerful than the North economically and militarily. My opinion is that this is only a dream of his. I don't know what he is thinking; does he imagine that we will be sleeping and not developing in the meantime? Therefore, we can say that we didn't get scared by his slogan to defeat communism and unify the country.

What we salute is the successful fighting against fascism that is currently taking place in South Korea, for democracy and for the democratization of the entire social life. It is likely that Park Chung Hee will be overthrown and genuine democracy will be established. There has been a strong fight for democracy in South Korea in recent years. We are aware that this fighting cannot be successfully completed through elections, because Americans are in South Korea and there is the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. Under these conditions, even the democratization process is hard. Of course, the possibilities for democratization will increase if the Americans withdraw. In the past years, there have been several attempts in the South. In 1959 there were some slogans for the unification of the country and for the creation of a progressive party. This was the case back in the day of Rhee Syngman when the progressive party took part in elections and lost by a margin of a few hundred thousand votes. Following the election fraud in 1959, students went out in the streets to protest. On April 19 1960, students' riots took over the entire country, which led to the overthrow of the Rhee Syngman government. Chang Myeon took over his position. He realized he couldn't govern in the same manner as Rhee Syngman and then he turned a little bit more democratic. In those circumstances, the students and the youth exerted some pressures from within, started asking for

visits to Panmunjeom and to ask to meet with representatives of the North in there to discuss the problem of the unification of the country.

The Americans became aware of the danger and organized a military coup, which resulted in the assumption of power by none other than Park Chung Hee. In the South Korean Constitution, it is stipulated that the president in office cannot run for president more than two times in a row. Park Chung Hee modified the Constitution and run for president for a third time. In this situation, opposition parties boycotted the elections and then he ran in the elections by himself. Although he managed to modify the Constitution, he said he could relinquish his position at any given time; however the recent elections proved otherwise. Opposition parties joined forces and formed a democratic front – a progressive one, a front for the defense of democracy.

Students organized themselves, all mass organizations did so. Therefore, a powerful united front was formed, so as to eliminate Park Chung Hee and to elect another president.

In this context, Kim Baegyung emerged as the president of the new Progressive Party. He even had some good slogans, which resembled our position regarding the unification of the country. He promised that if he became president, he would solve all conflicts in the area and he would advocate the unification with the North; secondly, he would reform the police force and the internal intelligence apparatus; he would reduce military forces and he would install a civilian government; he would reduce the penetration of foreign investments, we would protect and even stimulate the development of national capital. Concerning foreign policy, we would like to have good relations not only with the United States and with Japan, but to establish relations with the People's Republic of China and with the Soviet Union too. He offered wide democratic possibilities to all mass and community organizations in South Korea. There was only one thing missing from his platform: the pull out of the Americans from South Korea. In spite of it, his platform managed to mobilize the South Korean population. It was even feared that Park Chung Hee would lose the last month's election.

In these electoral circumstances, in the city of Seoul, the new candidate managed to get 80% of the votes; he got many votes in the country side too, but eventually when Park Chung Hee saw that his presidency is under threat, he mobilized the police and the army and falsified the results of the election, winning by a margin of 1.2 million votes.

After the presidential election, the parliamentary elections took place. Within these elections too, the electoral fighting was very strong. It was likely again that Park Chung Hee won a minority of the votes, but he proceeded with the falsification of the elections again. During the parliamentary elections, Park Chung Hee got 113 votes while the democratic forces got 89 votes.

Judging from all these, it ensues that the fight for democracy is growing more and more powerful in South Korea. Over a period of almost 2 months, students and the youth in general got involved into bitter fights, going out in the streets and protesting.

What could be the conclusions from what has been said until now? If the Americans continue to stay in South Korea, victory through elections is not possible. For this reason, the problem of the unification of the country is linked to this issue. In conclusion, it can be said that, in the absence of the Americans in South Korea or of any other foreign forces, the South Korean people could install a democratic progressive government, through its own forces, and the establishment of such a government would draw us very close to each other, so that, without fighting, we could unify the country. It is not that we don't want it. We believe this can be achieved once the Americans are gone, excluding the possibility that the Japanese replace them. Actually, the Japanese are infiltrating into South Korea by other means, such as the Japanese

investments in South Korea. Sato was the one to enjoy the victory of Park Chung Hee in the presidential elections the most. Park Chung Hee was a general in the Japanese army during the Japanese occupation. For this reason, he is very well regarded by Sato. Sato declared that he would be present on the July 1st ceremony for the presidential re-inauguration of Park Chung Hee. At Seoul University and at other higher education institutions, on the occasion of a plenary session, a declaration against the participation of Sato at the ceremony was released.

This is the situation in South Korea. Regarding the support of revolutionary activities in South Korea, regarding unification, you are aware of the declaration adopted recently at the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Should Park Chung Hee be overthrown, we will be able to discuss the unification of our country with anyone who desires this. This is the current situation. The evolution of the situation in South Korea depends on the struggle of democratic forces; on the [struggle of the] South Korean people.

Among the population of South Korea, the spirit of hatred against the Americans has taken root and is spreading. Should the revolutionary forces in South Korea intensify, the ones that are more likely to intervene are not the Americans, but the Japanese.

Between 1894-1895, the Sino-Japanese war took place; between 1904-1905 the Japanese-Russian wars took place. In those circumstances, a peasant uprising took place. The 1894 riot was the biggest one in history. Within the Korean leadership back then, there were three groups – I am referring to the feudal leadership: a pro-Japanese group, a pro-Chinese group and a pro-Russian group. So, since 1894, there has been this attraction towards the three parties. In these conditions, the Japanese were called for help to suppress the peasant uprising; the pro-Chinese group asked for China's help and this sparked the Sino-Japanese war. The current situation in South Korea can be compared to the one back then. Even if the Americans pull out, a South Korean rebellion would be suppressed by the Japanese.

In 1969, Sato released a televised interview through which he expressed his desire to have the Japanese replace the Americans in the surrounding areas in Asia. He made a similar statement in September 1970 too. Moreover, Sato declared that since the Americans are cutting back on their military forces in South Korea, there is no alternative [for South Korea] but to accept Japan as the security guarantor.

I won't talk for too long about these tendencies in Japanese militarism, but I would like to tell you that the Japanese conceived, together with the South Koreans several action plans. One of these is the "three arrows plan"; there is also a "flying dragon plan", the "yellow bull plan." You must be aware that these are military plans. Currently, the Japanese are carrying out various military preparations, drills, in similar conditions to what the South Koreans are doing, with land forces, air forces and navy. Moreover, they built a strategic highway between Busan and Seoul so that they can more easily get from the South of Korea to the 38th parallel. The Japanese Joint Chiefs of Staff is in South Korea. Except for these high-rank visits, there are frequent visits of Japanese military cadres of all sorts to South Korea.

Concerning the penetration of foreign capital in South Korea, it is estimated that approximately 20% of the total foreign investment capital is Japanese. It can be stated that the Japanese will reserve their right to defend the capital they invested there. According to some estimates, 3-5.000 Japanese soldiers are in South Korea; they investigate the battle ground and according to certain maps they examine the best possibilities for carrying out battles. I could state that but for the present dictatorship, should an uprising occur, the greatest danger for South Korea currently is the Japanese.

There were statements that if the Americans allow the Japanese to take over South Korea, the Japanese would offer South Korea twice as much in military assistance as the Americans had.

It is common knowledge that any American withdrawal from South Korea will be made in close connection with the Japanese. Sato has an agreement with Nixon in this respect.

For this reason, we decisively fight against Japanese militarism. Of course, Japanese militarism cannot be mistaken for the entire Japanese people. We don't want to mistake it for the year 1894, [or] 1905, to mistake the people from back then with the present people, the level from back then with the current level. Of course, the situation in the years I referred to cannot be compared with the situation nowadays. Nowadays we have the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and so on. The situation changed radically. We must be aware that just like with Federal Germany, which is a menace for Europe, Japan is a menace for Asia. Of course, in the future, we will improve our means for fighting against Japanese militarism.

In general, these were the problems I wanted to discuss with you regarding the situation in South Korea. Of course, if they are of interest to you and if you want us to, we could provide you with documentary materials so as not to extend our talks now.

How do you think we should proceed? Should we continue our discussions now or should we take a short break and then discuss bilateral relations and some aspects of the international situation?

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: Let's take a short break

.
After the break

[...]

Comrade Kim Il Sung: We understand your viewpoint and we appreciate it. I think these were the problems I wanted to raise with you. Of course, if there are any other problems you would like to discuss, we will have other opportunities for that. We still have a few days left.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: I would like to thank you Comrade Kim Il Sung for the very interesting information that you shared with us and for the questions raised. In most problems, our viewpoints are the same or very similar; indeed, during the next couple of days, we can still discuss about some issues, we can deepen our understanding of some of them, we can clarify them.

Comrade Kim Il Sung: We shall do that.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: Maybe we could also issue a communiqué, or at least start working on it.

Comrade Kim Il Sung: We shall do that too.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: On our side, Comrade George Macovescu, deputy foreign minister, and Andrei Stefan, the first deputy of the International Affairs Department within the Party, will take part in the discussions.

Comrade Kim Il Sung: On our side, Comrade Heo Dam, the foreign minister, and Kim Yongnam, the first deputy of the International Affairs Division will take part.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: There aren't any delicate issues at stake; therefore, the communiqué will be a positive one.

Comrade Kim Il Sung: We saw the joint communiqué you released together with the Chinese. We share their policy line so it will be easy. We could even make it simpler. I suggest we stop here.

The discussions ended at 7:00 PM.

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DOCUMENT No. 74

[Source: South Korean Foreign Ministry Archive. Obtained for NKIDP by Shin Jongdae and translated for NKIDP by Song Jihei]

Date and Time: November 20, 1971 10:05-12:20

Location: Conference Room, Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, Panmunjeom

Details:

North: Your explanation of family members includes relatives, in fact. [However, your written statement does not include relatives.] What is your intention in not describing relatives [as target participants]?

South: It means the extent of our family members is much larger than what you have in mind. It is likely that some relatives you have in mind are partially included in that extent.

North: In the preliminary meetings, we gave in to the South in determining the location [of the family reunions], the procedure, etc.. It is now your turn to compromise. In international negotiations, in determining the agenda for the main negotiation, the involved parties each introduce an agenda to the main conference and revise as needed through discussions. Nevertheless, you are being very obstinate. Please present an amendment that includes relatives in the scope of the [target] participants.

South: So far, we reached agreements because we have made reasonable suggestions. It can't be argued that it is merely because you have compromised [in reaching agreements]. You suggest that we combine categories that are redundant in concept, such as family members, extended family, and friends, as one category to allow for mutual visitations and uninterrupted exchanges. However, you have not clearly defined this category, and therefore, the agenda is not clearly defined. In order for our discussions to move forward, you should reorganize your agenda as clearly as our agenda and present an amendment.

North: Your agenda is favorable in most parts. The sequence for confirming if family members are alive or dead before the reunion is fine as well. It is simply that we must include all relatives [as target participants]. Family members refer to the people who you live with in a house. How many family members will there be if we were searching for family members who are separated 26 years ago? In such a case, the extent of participants is too narrow. People will not be able to accept that we only target [immediate] family members. Our superiors will also disapprove of this. If you present an amendment which includes extended family, we will be able to reach an agreement soon.

South: You should first present an amendment with clear definitions of family members and extended family in a format that is similar to ours. Then, after looking at your amendment, we should look for commonalities in our opinions.

North: A negotiation is a two-way process. If you have an attitude that you will never compromise, agreements [between us] are unlikely to be reached. If you submit an amendment with extended family included, then we will soon reach an agreement. Please bring an amendment that includes extended family to the 10th preliminary conference.

South: In that case, we should each study [each other's] amendments and present [them during the next meeting].

North: I am aware that Mr. Jung is an international affairs specialist.....

South: My expertise is only at a stage to roughly predict when "Nixon" will visit Communist China.

North: Even when we merely look at the Taiwan issue, the great powers make victims of the small countries for their own sake.

South: Communist China used to speak ill of the United States calling them American Imperialists. Now they have reconciled with the U.S. There is no help for the great powers to place their own benefit before everything else, isn't there? Isn't the Soviet Union the same?

North: It is the same [for all the countries] including the Soviet Union. By the way, people call the current day an era of negotiation, isn't that correct?

South: In fact, it is certainly better to use words than to use fists [in resolving conflicts].

North: By the way, I heard that there is a sign on *Namdaemun* that reads "self-reliance."

South: We must be self-sustained and self-reliant, musn't we?

North: We are trying to be self-reliant as well. By the way, it is highly favorable that just the two of us meet. People who are trusted by their superiors, in other words, what is your opinion on holding secret meetings between people who are trusted by the highest-level officials? The Red

Cross Conference is to continue separately but aside from the Red Cross Conference [we could consider having secret meetings between officials].

South: Which level of people do you refer to in general when you mention people who are trusted by their superiors?

North: Whoever is trusted by their superiors.

South: Secret meetings between such people are worth examining. However, I believe it is more important to improve current South-North relations as it could enable such contacts. I will speak candidly as it is between the two of us. If we could improve our relations, for instance, by ceasing the dispatch of spies, the abduction of KAL flights and numerous fishermen, the change in circumstances can serve as a basis for such meetings, couldn't it? Our Red Cross meetings will serve a role in such a change in circumstances as well.....

North: I have much to say about such issues (referring to the spies and abduction issues)..... Such issue of trusted people having meetings is not for us to decide.....

South: It is worth studying and examining.

North: Why are you so strongly opposed to a joint-recess? We could visit the Freedom House and you could visit Panmun-gak. Why are you so worried about it? You have an army of seven hundred thousand and also a much larger population.....

South: What do you mean worry? We take recesses naturally whenever it is appropriate. There is no need to decide when, where and whom with to take recesses as if it is such an important thing. For us, public opinion is important. Taking the Red Cross meetings as an example, many people criticize us, arguing that the delegates only take rests and eat instead of work. Should I show you a cartoon from our paper which criticizes us for not making any progress in our meetings, and for having luncheons all the time?

North: If we meet more often, talk to each other and share meals, it will be helpful for us to better understand each other. What do you think about our luncheon invitation during the 10th meeting?

South: I've spoken with the delegates, including the chief delegate. They believe it is better that we have luncheons after we achieve something in our meetings.

North: Please clarify whether we should prepare the luncheon at the 10th meeting or not. We will need some [time for] preparation.

South: I suppose it is better that you do not prepare [a luncheon]..

North: In cases which I need to meet with Mr. Jung, I will contact via "memos" during our meetings from now on.

South: Let's do that.

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DOCUMENT No. 75

[Source: South Korean Foreign Ministry Archive. Obtained for NKIDP by Shin Jongdae and translated for NKIDP by Song Jihei]

Date and Time: December 10, 1971 14:30 – 16:00

Location: Conference Room, Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, Panmunjeom

Details:

South: Your amendment excludes friends but why are you so persistent on the details of the project?

North: Once we reach an agreement on the target participants, the details of the project are to be discussed at the main meeting. Why does it matter so much?

South: Our agenda includes reasonable details in accordance with the general custom of the Red Cross Society's projects. Therefore, it is likely that you must accept our proposal.

North: We should leave the Red Cross Conference issues to be discussed between the chief delegates at the [main] meetings. We should discuss other issues. (An attitude treating the Red Cross meetings lightly [observed].)

South: I noticed a very strong political propaganda during the 11th meeting. What were the reasons?

North: I expected an amendment from you at the 10th meeting. However, it was not the case. That was the reason.

South: What is your intention for a political contact?

North: There is currently an international thaw in relations between countries. The two of us should not be the only exceptions, right?

South: During the last meeting you mentioned anyone trusted by their superior is appropriate. What level of officials in detail do you have in mind?

North: High-level officials from the Korean Worker's Party and the Democratic Republican Party would be appropriate. You probably have seen Kim Il Sung's August 6th statement in full. I believe your suggestion for a Red Cross meeting on August 12th is your response to the statement. (Attaching political significance [to the Red Cross Conference].) I am a member of the Party. Mr.

Jung is probably a member of the Republican Party as well. We are not sitting here as individuals. (Suggesting their role is to serve as mediators for political conferences.)

South: How about the location?

North: It could take place in Korea or in a third country. Wherever is fine. If it is a place where we could speak with each other without letting other countries know, especially the United States, the location does not matter.

South: In order for us to examine [the possibility of] political negotiations, we need to have a clearer idea of your intentions..... For instance, what is a preferred way to shift the current South-North confrontation, in other words, how you would like to change the current circumstances. Could you describe such projections more clearly in detail?

North: I cannot speak of such issues with my personal opinion. I will consult with my superiors when I will return and provide answers when we meet next time.

South: Please answer us clearly next time when we meet. If I am to provide a personal opinion as an individual of the country, shouldn't there be a change in the current circumstances before such political conferences develop? Achievements in the Red Cross meetings might also contribute to the change in circumstances as well but.....

North: What do you mean by changing the current circumstances? Please explain in a way that is easier to understand.

South: For instance, President "Nixon" will visit the Communist China next year. "Kissinger" has been to Beijing twice..... The premise that enabled such progress was the United States first changing the circumstances through the friendly countries obtaining friendly relations with Communist China....., building mutual trust through the invitation of the table tennis team....., and then moving on to "Kissinger" visiting Beijing and President "Nixon's" visit and so on. Everything is initiated from a small matter and advanced one by one; thus maturing the surrounding circumstances, and eventually leading to political negotiations.

North: There are no matters we could not resolve if we met and spoke openly.

South: You are speaking vaguely..... In order to solve the issues, you would need to start recognizing the circumstances in detail first. I've seen the statement from your Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding our announcement of a state of national emergency. It seemed like you somewhat know the details in the South but were far from clear on what it is in fact like. In addition, the speakers at the armistice line were repeating what was stated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the end, you were pledging that you will not invade the South..... What is it worth if you promise a hundred times merely by words? Rather, the promise must be proven through behavior and action. Who would ever believe such a promise when you promote military training regardless of gender and age, calling it National Exercise and requiring elementary school children to play military games? When the reality is left unchanged and when you merely make promises, who would ever believe it?

North: We must broaden our understanding of each other. Shall we meet before our next meeting?

South: We should discuss through “memos” at our next meeting.

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DOCUMENT No. 76

[Source: South Korean Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Song Jihei]

Date and Time: December 17, 1971 14:30-16:20

Location: Conference Room, Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, Panmunjeom

Details:

South: Your attitude in today’s meeting (13th preliminary conference) seemed as if you are not willing to reach an agreement before the end of this year. How long do you intend to extend the meetings arguing for uninterrupted exchanges?

North: Uninterrupted exchange is a basic principle..... How about we quit discussing the [preliminary] conference and discuss more significant issues?

South: How are we able to discuss significant issues when we haven’t developed a mutual understanding and built trust through our conversations through the Red Cross meetings? What is the use of discussing it? (Intentionally expressed an upset attitude.)

North: Don’t be impatient. Let’s discuss significant issues. First of all, we should identify ourselves clearly before we move on to a discussion. I am a Chief Officer of Organization Tasks at the Central Committee of the Korean Worker’s Party. I can deliver your words to the responsible high-level officials and also I am also authorized to speak for my superiors.

South: My current position is the Director of Conference Management. My prior position was the Director of an organization directly under the president.

North: Do you refer to the CIA?

South: That is correct. I am authorized to directly report your words [to my superiors] and to deliver [my superiors’] words to you. Please provide an accurate and detailed answer to the question I asked you when we previously met (how the North would like to change the current South-North status).

North: (Pulled out his notes and read through the notes.)

1. You have announced the State of national emergency considering us [as a threat] as an excuse. Was it intended to threaten us or were there any other purposes?
2. The announcement of State of national emergency and visualizing a peaceful reunification cannot happen together.
3. The issue of reunification is an internal issue within our nation. Therefore, we hope for a peaceful method in achieving the objective instead of pursuing it through armed conflict.
4. The external circumstances also promote an environment of reconciliation.
5. While it is true that we are fully prepared for a war, it is not to invade the South. It is rather to counteract the United States and Japan.
6. We argue for solidarity of our nation and to discuss the measures for the reunification of our motherland.
7. An armed conflict between the South and the North is worthless. We must reach reunification through peace.
8. Your announcement of the State of national emergency promotes internal and external isolation. Therefore, we argue that it should be revoked.

South: What you have stated does not provide a clear answer to my question. How is it different from what you conventionally state through the *Rodong Sinmun*, the Party-affiliated journals, workers and through broadcasts? I do not need to meet with you to listen to such statements that I am already well aware of. I need more candid opinions. I would like to clearly state several thoughts on what was previously discussed.

1. The announcement of the State of national emergency is intended to restrain your invasion of the South, not to threaten you.
2. Carefully examine the President [Park]'s statement on August 15th. If the North ceases provocation, we could sit together at the UN. Carefully examine statements such as "Step forward for a war of good-intention" especially.
3. After you have developed a good amount of military capability, you argue that it is to be used towards the U.S. and Japan, and not towards the South. Even a mere child would not believe such a statement. In order to make us understand such a statement as it reads, for instance, that you will never invade the South and that we should achieve reunification through peace, shouldn't you prove it through an internal attitude change?

North: If you require a letter of confidence from the high-ranking officials, I can bring one anytime.

South: I can always provide you a letter of confidence as well. Nevertheless, the possibility of generating faith or trust through conversations with you is much more important than a hundred letters.

North: I am willing to meet with you whenever you request.

South: The same is true for me. In addition, how are we going to carry out the [preliminary] meeting? Looking at [your] attitude today, if you are unrelenting in your insistence for uninterrupted exchanges, it is unlikely that we will reach an agreement before the end of this year, and it is unnecessary to hold more discussions until the end of this year, isn't it?

North: We should stop holding more meetings until the end of this year. The issues regarding exchanges of presents can be discussed between the representatives at the Liaison's Office.

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DOCUMENT No. 77

[Source: South Korean Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Song Jihei]

Date and Time: January 29, 1972 10:00-11:30

Location: Conference Room, Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, Panmunjeom

Details:

North: I'd like to restate an issue previously discussed. I suggest we carry letters of credibility in order to discuss significant issues.

South: I have clearly stated my opinion on that issue. Therefore, there is no need to discuss it anymore.

North: It does not mean that we must carry the letter to exchange conversations. It does not necessarily have to be a letter of confidence but don't we each need material evidence to clarify our positions?

South: We have confirmed each other's position through the numerous conversations we had. In addition, I haven't even demanded that you, Mr. Kim, prove your position. If you find it difficult to proceed with our conversations due to such a matter as this, I don't believe there are any issues we can discuss.

North: Whatever your opinion is, what is your intention in not accepting our request for material evidence? Please understand our position.

South: I'd like to clearly state my opinion that material evidence (documentation) is not needed. Mr. Kim, you should be clearer on your attitude than to declare that material evidence is preferred.

North: Without material evidence, we cannot discuss significant issues.

South: Very well. In order for our conversation to progress, either you, Mr. Kim, have to change your mind or I will have to change my mind. We shouldn't discuss this issue anymore. We should exchange ideas regarding the conference (Red Cross meeting).

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DOCUMENT No. 78

[Source: Diplomatic Archive, Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sofia. Record 28, File 1705, pgs 14-16. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Sveta Milusheva]

Information on talks with the Soviet Military Attaché in the DPRK [Democratic People's Republic of Korea]
4 February 1972

To: The ambassador of the PR [People's Republic] of Bulgaria to the DPRK
Comrade Yancho Georgiev

Report

From: Zachary Yanakiev-Third Secretary

Comrade Ambassador,

As requested by the assistant military attaché at the Soviet embassy, Major Bulanov, and with your permission, today I visited the attaché at the Albanian embassy in Pyongyang, Kostatz Chifliku.

In the process of the discussion we exchanged opinions on a number of issues, on which he expressed the following point of view:

1. On the topic of relations between Albania and the DPRK.

He thinks that during the past year, 1971, they have developed some, although not significantly.

A delegation from the Albanian Youth Organization visited the DPRK in order to participate in the work of the sixth congress of the Korean Socialist Youth Organization. [And the DPRK was also visited by] a delegation of specialists researching the DPRK's experience with chicken production, with the goal of purchasing [equipment] for a chicken factory.

An invitation was sent to the KWP, [asking them] to send a delegation to take part in the work of the Albanian Party's Congress, which took place last year. This invitation was declined by the Korean comrades because of "certain circumstances."

The trade contract for 1972, which foresaw an increase of 20 % in comparison to 1971 and amounted to 1 million rubles in both directions [imports/exports], was signed in a timely manner. During the negotiations, both countries expressed interest in broadening their trade relations. One obstacle in that direction was the issue of transportation. Because of the small quantities of goods, the Albanians had no interest in sending their own ships to the DPRK, and because of that, the goods were sent off by train from the DPRK to Chinese harbors.

2. In response to the question I put forth concerning Sino-Albanian relations and the standpoint of Albania on the issue of Nixon's visit to China, he [Kostatz Chifliku] stated the following:

Relations have not changed. Since the Albanian leadership considered Nixon's visit to be an "internal Chinese issue," they did not make an official statement. Nothing was mentioned on that topic at the Congress either.

3. To my question concerning the perspectives for the normalization of relations between Albania and the USSR, [he] answered that this question had been clarified by Enver Hoxha at the congress. The Soviet Union explored options for the normalization of relations, but all turned futile.

4. On the issue of Sino-Korean relations.

[He thinks that [relations] are developing quickly and have even surpassed those between the DPRK and the USSR, in spite of the claims that the DPRK is trying to keep a balance in its relations with the two countries. According to him though, the quick progress of Sino-Korean relations was not at the expense of the DPRK's relations with the USSR.

I asked him if he had information to give me something more specific about the Sino-Korean relations. He stated that the Chinese were not telling them anything and that is why, they themselves do not know anything more specific.

[He] announced that the Chinese embassy was very interested in the visits of the Korean delegations, headed by Pak Seongcheol, Jeong Juntaek and Heo Dam, to the European socialist countries, Latin America, and the Near East. [They] were interested in the issue of which delegation would visit which country.

I asked him if any of these delegations would visit Albania, Yugoslavia, and China. He answered that up to now, the Koreans have not discussed any such issue. Regarding a visit to Yugoslavia, he knew nothing either. He stated that there were rumors that a high-ranking Korean delegation was going to visit China. But he did not know anything more specific.

5. On the topic of the events in China.

He thinks that there was a dissent in the leadership, that Liu Shaoqi was alive, and he did not say anything specific about Lin Biao, except that he had intentions to flee the country, but he was not on the airplane that crashed in Mongolia. According to him, it is more likely that the former chief of the general staff of the army, Xian Yun Shen, was on the airplane.

He did not reply to my remark that according to the British press, the USA's CIA helped to uncover Lin Biao's group.

6. On the topic of Kim Il Sung's proposals for the peaceful unification of Korea, he thinks that they are results of the changes in China's position in that direction, which until recently insisted on resolving the problem through military ways.

For my part, I informed him about Bulgarian-Korean relations, emphasizing mainly the economic ties and the delegations, which have visited the DPRK.

At the end he asked me if I had the KWP's booklet of by-laws with the changes approved at the fifth congress, to give it to him so he could look it over, or [if I could] tell him what the more important changes were.

I told him that I did not have it, that I had not inquired, but if I learned anything I would tell him.

Comrade Ambassador, Since Chifliku and I know each other from our college years; the meeting went without any nagging on his part.

During the conversation he took pains to seem sincere, mainly in his explanations that the Chinese embassy does not inform them about anything. Of course something like this can be presumed. But together with this, there was a feeling that he did not wish to talk in more detail on the topics related to Sino-Korean and Sino-Albanian relations.

Pyongyang, 4 February 1972

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DOCUMENT No. 79

[Source: South Korean Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Song Jihei]

Date and Time: March 7, 1972 10:00-11:20

Location: Conference Room, Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, Panmunjeom

Details:

South: I will now speak of our opinion.

1. We would need to confirm Director of KCIA, Lee Hurak and Director of Organization and Guidance, Kim Yeongju as our trusted officials, that is, the superiors who entrusted us to deliver messages and to relay responses responsibly. ([The two] Each exchanged the letters of credibility, confirmed the details and returned the letters. Kim Deokhyun seemed to be content with the letter from the Director of KCIA and recorded details of the letter with a sincere face.)
2. The person with the letter of confidence from the Director of KCIA will visit the North. In this case, the letter will be drafted for Kim Yeongju, Director of Guidance and Organization. The officials' visits will be kept strictly confidential. Around two officials will visit the North, one delegate with the letter of credence and one assistant for the delegate.
3. We will gladly accept a visit from a delegate carrying Kim Yeongju's letter of confidence written towards the Director of the KCIA. If you are unwilling to have our delegate visit the North first, your delegate could visit us first.
4. When our delegate visits the North via Panmunjeom, we would like to obtain a memorandum from Kim Yeongju assuring our delegate's safety. When our delegate returns, the memorandum will be returned to you. The procedure is likewise when your delegate visits the South.
5. The purpose of mutual visits will not be prescribed but it will facilitate our exchange of opinions. When we are able to exchange opinions and understand each other, political issues will naturally be discussed in due course.
6. I am aware that you are considering such exchanges with other connections ([Kim] nodded as an expression of agreement), such connections should be discontinued, and we should confirm the exchange as conversations between the Director of KCIA and Kim Yeongju, Director of Organization and Guidance.

North: Since it is an issue of significant importance, I will provide a response during our next meeting after I accurately report to high-ranking officials. I suggest our next meeting to be held on Friday, March 10th at Panmun-gak.

South: March 10th sounds good. Since we have a working-level conference [for the Red Cross Conference], we should confirm the time through our assistants. I do not oppose having our meeting at Panmun-gak. However, it will be confirmed through my assistant on March 10th. (When the discussion concluded, Kim Deokhyun did not hide his excitement and ordered to bring Ginseng-ju, suggesting a toast.)

<Other things discussed>: [The two] Discussed music, literature, and sports while having drinks.

1. “Tchaikovskii” and “Liszt” were mentioned while discussing music. Kim Deokhyun proudly mentioned his wife is a “cellist.”
2. The works of “Tolstoy” and “Dostoyevsky” were mentioned while discussing literature.
3. Kim Deokhyun mentioned he enjoys playing chess and table tennis.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 80

[Source: South Korean Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Ttranslated for NKIDP by Song Jihei]

Date and Time: March 10, 1972 13:30-15:00

Location: Panmun-gak, Panmunjeom

Details:

South: Please provide us an accurate response on the issues mentioned during our last meeting.

North: I've accurately reported your words to comrade Kim Yeongju who is the Secretary and also the Director of Organization and Guidance. I will deliver his responses accurately from now on.

1. We recognize that your proposal is in an accord with our effort to facilitate our nation's peaceful reunification through the South-North mutual contact and we welcome your proposal.
2. We agree with your willingness to send a high-ranking delegate who has Director Lee Hurak's letter of confidence and his assistant, and we cordially invite them.
3. We will warmly welcome your delegates with the heart of fellow countrymen and we assure their safety and will provide all hospitality. At the same time, we are willing to exchange a memorandum regarding safety (signed by the Director of Organization and Guidance, headed to the Director of KCIA).
4. In this regard, we would like to know when you will send your delegates and when you would like to receive our memorandum. Also we would prefer to have the list of your delegate in advance. You can provide answers to this question today or tomorrow. This is the end of an official statement [from Director Kim Yeongju].

South: During your statement, you mentioned you welcome our proposal and are willing to exchange memoranda regarding safety. Does this signify that you completely and clearly agree to our suggestion without any exception?

North: That is correct.

South: I appreciate your complete agreement to our proposal. I will deliver your words to the Director of KCIA accurately. Regarding your question of when and who we will send to Pyongyang, I will provide a response from the Director of KCIA at our meeting on March 14th 10:00 at the Freedom House.

North: Very well. Let's plan on meeting at the Freedom House on March 14th at 10:00.

South: Then we can now conclude exchanging important messages. Also, I'd appreciate if you could provide your response to my question last year regarding how you would like to change the current South-North circumstances.

North: It is better that the high-level officials meet as soon as possible and discuss such issues in person. I do not feel the need for us to discuss the issues at this point since the high-level officials are to meet soon. (Kim Deokhyun suggested that we have lunch together when we were done confirming the details of our conversation. We let them know that we had lunch already and declined the offer while we appreciated them offering. He suggested that we should have a light tea and brought out food that was almost a luncheon. The food was prepared at Panmun-gak and was very carefully prepared. The party shared light food and beverages and chatted for about 40 minutes.)

North: Is the delegate who will be sent to the North going to be an official from the KCIA, directly under the supervision of the Director?

South: Such a question from Mr. Kim probably stems from a misunderstanding of our power structure. It is a big mistake assuming the KCIA Director's role as a director of one of many governmental organizations under the National Government Organization Act. I will provide an answer on who we will send as a delegate on March 14th. However, whoever it is, his role is not limited to representing the KCIA Director's occupational authority but will also include his role in politics. In our country, it is most significant that one has the trust from the President and please bear in mind that the Director of KCIA is the official with the deepest trust from the President. (Kim Deokhyun was in a good mood throughout and the two exchanged conversation in agriculture and daily lives.)

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 81

[Source: PoIA AA, MfAA, C 1080/78. Obtained for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer and translated for NKIDP by Karen Riechert]

GDR Embassy to DPRK
Pyongyang, 13 March 1972

Note

on a Conversation with the 1st Secretary of the USSR Embassy, Comrade Kurbatov, on 10 March 1972 in the GDR Embassy

During the conversation there was an exchange of opinions on the following questions:

The DPRK Position on the Nixon Visit to Beijing and its Influence on the Situation in Korea

Based on a written draft, Comrade Kurbatov asserted the DPRK reaction demonstrates how the Korean leadership is very content with the result, in particular with the inclusion of the Korea Problem into the [Shanghai] communiqué between China and the United States. It [Korean leadership] is very pleased with the support of the DPRK Eight-Point-Proposal and the demand to dissolve UNCURK². The Korean leaders think that the Chinese maintained a firm position on Korea. As *Nodong Sinmun* writes, the Korean leadership is viewing this as a great assistance “by the fraternal Chinese people.” During Nixon’s actual stay in Beijing, the Koreans stated how the DPRK position was laid out in Kim Il Sung’s speech from 6 August 1971. Nixon would not arrive in Beijing as a victor but as the defeated. This Korean position had been reiterated in the [Kim Il Sung] interview with [the Japanese newspaper] *Yomiuri Shinbun* [in January 1972]. The Nixon visit was interpreted as forced upon the American president. This way the Korean side assisted China’s policy and agreed to the discussion of the Korean question in the talks.

In its publications, the Korean leadership attempts to hide from its people the parallel interests of China and the United States. It is pursuing its nationalist course and fails to notice the anti-Soviet aspect of rapprochement between the Chinese leadership and the United States. The Korean leadership asserts that China is a “socialist power,” “stands firm on the basis of proletarian internationalism,” and so on. The Korean leadership’s position consists entirely of a course of pragmatism. In their policy toward the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the Korean leaders are increasingly guided by pragmatic considerations. They are eager to achieve Korean unification primarily with Chinese assistance. It became evident that, in preparation for the talks with Nixon, Chinese leaders were not interested in tensions on the Korean peninsula (like, for instance, during the declaration of a state of national emergency in South Korea). The Chinese were successful in moving the Korean leadership from its entrenched position. The inclusion of the Korean question into the talks in Beijing, which had occurred with the full knowledge of the Koreans, speaks to new elements in relations between DPRK and China and to new aspects in the Chinese leadership’s policy towards the DPRK. The Chinese increasingly take matters to solve the Korean question into their own hands.

Kim Il Sung’s visit to Beijing –which allegedly did not occur in early February according to the official version- served the purpose of finalizing the exact joint position on the Korean question for the talks with Nixon. Also the stay of a group of Koreans in Beijing in close regular contact with the Chinese side further demonstrated the increased stability of relations between both sides. The Korean side denies a visit by Kim Il Sung to Beijing. Yet Chinese diplomats do not express denials but indicate how permanent consultations are possible, and a visit must not

² UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea

have been unusual. It can be assumed that the Koreans and Chinese recently had another exchange of opinions about the Nixon visit. The [*Nodong Sinmun*] editorial of March 4 seems to be an indication for that. It can be expected in this context that steps will be taken to create a favorable situation for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea. The Korean leadership views this as its main objective in the near future. Information exists according to which the Korean leadership has been continuously informed by secret material about the course of negotiations with Nixon. The talks with him in Beijing proved that China and the United States have common interests and want to resolve Asian and other problems without the Soviet Union. He [Kurbatov] also referred to differing assessments of the Nixon visit by DPRK and DRV.

I thanked Comrade Kurbatov for his presentation and informed him in turn about the evaluation of the Nixon visit by our Embassy.

Note: A comparison of the text of the [Shanghai] communiqué between China and the United States and the published version in the DPRK press shows that it was printed almost verbatim with only few omissions: The last sentence in the first paragraph, the third paragraph, the term “Republic [of] Korea”, and the last paragraph.

Conversation of Comrade Brezhnev with Foreign Minister Ho Dam in Moscow

Here Comrade Kurbatov remarked that Comrade Ho Dam told Comrade Brezhnev that the DPRK will assume a new position towards Japan. There are also new elements in Japan's attitude towards the DPRK. Another aspect of the talks with Comrade Brezhnev were Comrade Ho Dam's statements concerning the United Nations. The DPRK, according to Comrade Ho Dam, is expecting from the Soviet Union and the socialist countries to support and defend DPRK positions in the U.N. The PR China would stand up and support the DPRK there as well. Comrade Ho Dam continued how it would be positive if the socialist countries will act in the U.N. in a coordinated and identical fashion with China's positions.

The issues of Japan and the U.N. were not included in the “Joint Message” [of USSR and DPRK on the visit]. Comrade Brezhnev just listened to the statements on Japan and remarked about the U.N. that this question warrants close study.

Comrade Kurbatov stated furthermore that currently the Soviet Union is excluding an attack by the South against the North.

On DPRK-PRC relations Comrade Ho Dam noticed the improvement of relations, though they had not occurred at the expense of DPRK relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Moreover, Comrade Ho Dam said in his talk [with Brezhnev] that the Chinese side will be fully informed about what the Korean side expressed in its talk with the Soviet comrades.

Although it is an important question, there had been no [Korean-Soviet] consultations about party relations [KWP-CPSU] on this level [Brezhnev-Ho Dam].

Later Ambassador Sudarikov will inform more extensively about the Ho Dam visit.

Some Aspects of KWP Activity in the Communist World Movement

Based on a written draft, Comrade Kurbatov made the following remarks:

In 1971 and 1972 the KWP continued relations with communist and workers' parties. It participated in party congresses of several parties and practiced exchanges of delegations. It invited delegations from different parties to the DPRK. As before, the KWP builds its party

relations on a bilateral basis and refrains from multilateral cooperation. It increases its efforts to summarize the ideology of *Juche* into a comprehensive system and declares Kim Il Sung's *Juche* ideology as the only basis for party activities. The 5th Party Congress pushed through a petit bourgeois, nationalist line contradicting socialist development. These nationalist tendencies and the strengthening of relations with China have increased some negative tendencies in the communist movement and in KWP relations to the communist and workers movement. Despite official KWP declarations about the need to build relations with individual parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, by its actual activities in the international communist movement, the KWP is contradicting Marxism-Leninism with the nationalist *Juche* ideology, and proletarian internationalism with "autonomy" and "independence".

The KWP leadership does not consider the experiences of the communist world movement, and it does not follow the collectively agreed decisions of fraternal parties. Instead it praises Kim Il Sung as an eminent leader of the communist and workers movement and praises him as a genius of the revolution. The KWP is guided by his works where he "provided wise analysis of the features in the current international situation". It is guided by Kim Il Sung as "a leader of the anti-imperialist forces" because his ideas "accelerate the demise of imperialism and guide the world revolution on the path of victory." Kim Il Sung's works, his statements during internal meetings with foreign party officials, and his published speeches invite the assumption that he has a negative view of theory and practice of the construction of socialism and communism in the Soviet Union and the socialist fraternal countries. Apparently he sees the path to socialism in the DPRK as the "only correct and exemplary one for other countries." For instance, he declared in a conversation with the delegation of the leftist Party of Swedish Communists visiting the DPRK that he does not agree with the CPSU course to develop the Soviet Union as a people's state, since in his opinion such leads to a weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

According to Kim Yong Nam, Deputy Head of the [International] Department IV in the [KWP] Central Committee, who based his statement on the sayings of Kim Il Sung, "individual countries where the proletariat has risen to power cannot ignore the facts of a danger of imperialist aggression and the restoration of capitalism through encirclement by the international capital, before communism will be eventually established on a global scale."

Based on Kim Il Sung's ideas, Korean propaganda is currently leading a broad campaign that defines all parties as supporters of revisionism which do not agree with positions of Kim Il Sung on questions like the personality cult, dictatorship of the proletariat, class struggle, and so on. In this context a couple of embassies from the socialist countries have reached the conclusion that such a campaign leads to the development of camouflaged anti-Sovietism in the DPRK.

All this said and considered, the appeals by the Korean leaders for unity and closeness of the communist movement are just declaratory in nature, dishonest, and they are not corroborated by practical measures. The tendency becomes ever clearer that the KWP leadership does not focus on the unity of the communist world movement but aims at the revolutionary peoples of the world, of which the so-called united front of the revolutionary people in Asia constitutes the core (Korea, China, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos). This approach testifies to a gradual departure from the class position of proletarian internationalism for a transition towards a nationalist, pragmatic position. In this context internal Korean propaganda has begun to claim that the "socialist countries have lost their revolutionary spirit and therefore can currently serve only as a material base for the struggle of the revolutionary peoples." In public propaganda this position

was to be found in somewhat modified form in the *Rodong Sinmun* article “Let us defend the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Proletarian Democracy”.

As the KWP is counting China among the revolutionary countries, and based on the ideological and political closeness of positions [between DPRK and PRC], we have to conclude that the KWP is on the path to solidify party relations with China. Since 1971 they exchange party delegations. Korean propaganda welcomed the “assignments for the struggle” by the so-called 9th Party Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), as well as the implementation of the so-called “Cultural Revolution.” A “Nodong Sinmun” article celebrating the 50th anniversary of the CCP claimed, “After the Cultural Revolution, the CCP turned into an even purer, steeled and strong party”.

The KWP and PRC have established contacts and organize informational changes. In the DPRK the Chinese journal *Hongji* continues to be circulated. In pursuing its own goals, the KWP leadership does not pay attention to the anti-Soviet aspects of China’s foreign policy. At the same time it comes close to Chinese positions, as it showed in particular concerning the events in Sudan, India/Pakistan and the Middle East.

Recently the KWP has increasingly activated its relationship with the Party of Labor of Albania. So far, DPRK efforts have not resulted in desired Korean reactions on the Albanian side, they only activated bilateral relations on the state level. For the occasion of important anniversaries they exchanged congratulations to underline traditional and friendly relations. The most active development of relations is the one with the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) on a nationalist base and under the labels of “autonomy” and “independence” of the parties. Contacts between KWP and RCP are activated according to an agreement from 1971.

KWP participation in the party congresses of the fraternal parties in 1971 (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia, GDR, Poland, Soviet Union) has not resulted in progress of relations between the parties. The gatherings were used by the KWP leadership as a podium to propagate its special positions in front of the international communist movement, namely to emphasize “autonomy” and “independence” of parties as the base for their mutual relations.

The KWP leadership is departing from an exchange of experiences and delegations with the fraternal parties. For instance, despite respective agreements there were no party officials sent in 1971 for vacations in our respective countries. The KWP leadership pays close attention to the tendencies of parties that deviate from the documents of [the international communist and workers parties meeting] 1969 [in Moscow]. It is anything but coincidence that after the 1969 Moscow meeting, certain parties have paid visits to the DPRK (Sweden, Spain, Norway, Italy, and Reunion).

In its relations with the parties of capitalist countries, the KWP leaders aim to, in our opinion, influence these parties according to KWP policy and use them as a vehicle to establish diplomatic relations. We must pay close attention—and this is a dangerous phenomenon—that the KWP might establish relations with pro-Chinese separatist groups. For the first time ever, a congratulatory telegram to the KWP was published by the Communist Party of Thailand, which is completely in sync with Chinese positions.

An important vehicle to increase influence abroad is the propagation of Kim Il Sung ideas through dissemination of his works and the founding of circles. Recent observations show that more attention is paid to those circles. They attempt to include communists in them in order to create permanent organizations. The Korean leadership tries to gain increasing ground through ideological infiltration into the international communist and anti-imperialist movement. There are ever more publications of congratulatory telegrams to Kim Il Sung with praises of his

personality. Those congratulatory telegrams and messages cannot hide their Korean authors. Among other things, they want to manipulate the Korean people into believing that the entire world is studying the works of Kim Il Sung.

The slide of the Korean leadership into the nationalist *Juche* ideology, the proclamation of this ideology's universal character, and its dissemination abroad, creates an ever growing danger for the socialist community of states and the communist world movement. It requires us to pay increasing attention and to hold consultations between our parties how to approach and deal with these KWP activities.

I thanked Comrade Kurbatov for his statements and expressed that we are in agreement about the assessment of KWP activities in the International Communist Movement.

Note

A public demonstration of DPRK-PRC relations are facts like how the PRC Embassy in France organized a friendship meeting when on 25 February the DPRK "Mansudae" Ensemble visited France (telegram of 29 February 1972). When the ensemble arrived in Geneva on 8 March, it was welcomed at the train station by, among others, the Chinese Ambassador to Switzerland and employees of the Chinese Embassy. In the evening of the same day the Chinese side hosted a reception in Geneva in honor of the ensemble (telegram of 10 March 1972).

60th Birthday of Kim Il Sung on 15 April

At the end of our conversation, Comrade Kurbatov asked whether the GDR will give a present to Kim Il Sung or wants to award him an order. This is a very problematic question and the [Soviet] embassy has so far not reached a result in its discussions. Here I remarked that so far I only know that we are preparing a congratulatory letter. My personal opinion: A present should have symbolic character, if a present will indeed have to be given.

Comrade Gensicke, attaché of our Embassy, also attended this conversation.

Merten
Acting Ambassador

CC

1x Far East Department [Foreign Ministry]
1x Central Committee, Department IV
1x ZID [Foreign Ministry Central Information Service]
1x Embassy, Political Department

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DOCUMENT No. 82

[Source: South Korean Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Song Jihei]

Date and Time: March 14, 1972 10:25-11:25

Location: Freedom House, Panmunjeom

Details:

South: I'd like to deliver the message from the Director of KCIA.

1. I have accurately delivered your message from the previous meeting to the Director of KCIA and I'd like to accurately deliver the Director's message to you now.
2. He welcomes your complete agreement to his message and he is glad to hear that the Director of Organization and Guidance has invited the person the Director of KCIA trusts.
3. It is Chang Ki Yeong (ex-Vice Premier and current President of Hankook Ilbo) who is going to carry Director of KCIA's letter of confidence. Although he [now] represents a private business, he is extensively engaged with the government and is a Republican.

His assistant is Jung Tae Yeon (Hankook Ilbo correspondent to Japan). He is to care for President Chang Ki Yeong's personal needs since he is not in a good health.

4. Chang Ki Yeong and his assistant will visit the North at 12:00, April 25th. I will bring the party to Panmun-gak pretending we are invited for a lunch. I will entrust their guidance to you after I receive Director of Guidance and Organization Kim Yeongju's memorandum assuring our delegates' safety. While we would like to send the delegates earlier, we considered that you will have a busy schedule preparing for Premier Kim Il Sung's sixtieth birthday on April 15th and decided April 25th as most appropriate. We considered it is better to avoid any time prior to April 15th and to send the delegates when such a large event is over. Also, the warm weather at the end of April is also preferable considering Chang Ki Yeong's health.
5. He entrusts Chang Ki Yeong's detailed schedule during his visit to your planning and suggests around 10 days is appropriate for his visit. The detailed schedule and duration of stay for President Chang Ki Yeong would be discussed between Mr. Kim Deokhyun and me as needed.
6. Chang Ki Yeong's visit to the North does not bear a specific purpose (will not carry correspondences). It merely serves the purpose of communications through mutual exchange of conversation.
7. We suggest the letter of credence from the Director of KCIA to be addressed to
Director of Organization and Guidance, Workers' Party of Korea Kim Yeongju.
What is your opinion on this?
8. The [appropriate] time for you to visit the South can be before or after Chang Ki Yeong's visit to the North. The Director of KCIA will warmly welcome regardless of when. Regarding this matter, we would appreciate if you could inform us in advance of when and who you will send to the South.

I have accurately delivered the Director's message.

North: I will accurately deliver the Director of KCIA's message to the Director of Organization and Guidance and I will deliver his responses when we meet at Panmun-gak on March 16th, 10 o'clock. Vice Director of Organization and Guidance, Central Committee, Korean Worker's Party will greet them [the delegates] from Panmun-gak. How about visiting before April 25th? Our circumstance is that we are available to invite [the delegates] earlier.

South: I believe you will be occupied due to the event on April 15th. Also we prefer the end of April as it is warmer considering President Chang Ki Yeong's health. We would like to maintain the date since the Director made the decision with such considerations in account. (Exchanged conversations over light food with cola and beer. Kim Deokhyun happily enjoyed tangerine, banana, cola and beer.)

South: What I'd like to speak about from now on is clearly my personal opinion. I'd like to speak about a few things with this fact stated. President Chang Ki Yeong's visit to the North is only to open up a path between the South and the North. The issues regarding the South and the North must be discussed between Lee Hurak, Director of KCIA and Kim Yeongju, Director of Organization and Guidance in a third country, for instance, "Paris" or "Geneva" in order to reach a conclusion, shouldn't they?? In advance for such an event, we must enhance our mutual understanding. Isn't President Chang Ki Yeong's visit or a visit from your delegate preparation for such an event? In fact, if I had to speak about Director Lee Hurak, he is one with a wide breadth of thoughts and is capable of making daring decisions. Also, he has the most extensive knowledge on the international situation. Director Lee detests a third country arguing on the issues of the Korean Peninsula and always suggests that our issues must be solved through our own will.

I am aware that the Director of Organization and Guidance, Kim Yeongju is in effect the second in power in North Korea (Kim Deokhyun showed a mild smile). Ultimately, the South-North issues will be solved most swiftly and favorably through a direct meeting and agreement between Director Lee Hurak and Director of Organization and Guidance, Kim Yeongju. What are your opinions on this, Mr. Kim?

Although this is a trivial matter, the issues regarding mutual designations are to be solved most efficiently when the Director of KCIA and Director of Organization and Guidance meet. What do you think about the Directors meeting in a third country, Mr. Kim?

North: I personally believe it is a brilliant idea. I've mentioned the high-level officials holding conferences. (Re-stating it is a personal idea, he spoke as follows reading through his notes written in advance.) Our country is not insignificant in terms of land or resources. In addition, we have a glorious national history. [However] We have suffered from having to become slaves of a ruined country during the Japanese occupation and today from division. If we developed the affluent underground resources without being divided, we could become a powerful country. Observing the domestic and international circumstances, now is the time to eliminate division and develop through our own power. We consider Director Lee Hurak's statement on excluding the third country's interference as certainly valid. We cannot expect the third countries to provide us with charity. We must not argue for our own beliefs. Rather our people must stand as one regardless of our differences in thoughts and ideologies. We are also inclined to the self-

reliance and self-determination that you support. We believe we must promote self-reliance and self-determination in deed as well as in name. Our history tells us that we ruined ourselves by worshipping the powerful. Whether we are Communists or Nationalists, whatever we support, a divided motherland must not be left as a heritage to our descendants. We must leave them a unified motherland. In this context, it is of no use that we argue about our past. We should set aside what happened in the past. Like the saying “Blood runs thicker than water,” our people have been sharing a bloodline for almost five thousand years.

If we pooled together, we may not be able to become a strong power but we will be able to keep away from being treated contemptuously or disrespected. Furthermore, we must not be treated with contempt or disrespect and depreciated by the big powers. We have graceful mountains and streams and have a beautiful motherland. In this term, we welcome your entrance (referring to the South’s visit to the North). First of all, I must meet with Mr. Jung more often and cooperate with you to promote the high-level officials meeting. I personally support your opinion in whole. I am also supportive of the idea that Director Lee Hurak and Comrade Kim Yeongju meet. The details should be left to be discussed by them.

South: What Mr. Kim mentioned is perfectly in line with what I mentioned before. We, as aides should make efforts to provide advice to our superiors so that we are able to solve the South-North issues. Mr. Kim and I both carry credentials therefore we should meet whenever it is necessary. President Chang Ki Yeong’s visit is to open a path for [mutual] visits. What Mr. Kim and I will discuss is going to be the practical part. I would suggest that we allow unrestricted visits between the South and the North for the two of us. I will visit Pyongyang with permission from Director Lee Hurak and you could visit Seoul with the permission from Director of Organization and Guidance, Kim Yeongju.

North: I personally believe it is a brilliant idea.

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DOCUMENT No. 83

[Source: South Korean Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Song Jihei]

Date and Time: March 16, 1972 10:00-11:05

Location: Panmun-gak, Panmunjeom

Details:

North: I have accurately delivered Director Lee Hurak’s message to comrade Kim Yeongju, the Director of Organization and Guidance at the Central Committee of the Party. Director Comrade Kim Yeongju in principle agrees to the issues you mentioned. We will accept Representative Chang Ki Yeong and his assistant Jung Tae Yeon according to the process and method you wish. We will also clearly provide a memorandum regarding safety assurance signed by Comrade Director of Organization and Guidance when we greet them. We believe it is preferable that we mutually don’t describe detailed positions in the memorandum. You should address the

memorandum to Director Kim Yeongju and we should address it to Director Lee Hurak. The detailed schedule for your delegate and his assistant will be planned with sufficient consideration of your delegate's opinion and we also have no objection that the schedule should be discussed between Mr. Jung and Kim Deokhyun when it is confirmed and whenever changes are made.

Comrade Director of Organization and Guidance, Kim Yeongju mentioned that people wish that the South and the North reach a peaceful resolution of the South-North issues, and also that it is very important to accelerate the Red Cross meeting. However, our meeting is even more important. The best procedure will be to facilitate conversation first and then solve the nation's issue of peaceful reunification. Comrade Director of Organization and Guidance, Kim Yeongju, in principle, welcomes your suggestion to send your delegate and his assistant to the North on April 25th, and also mentioned that the dates between April 1st to 11th is more efficient for us. Comrade Director of Organization and Guidance mentioned that we will have a modest celebration for Premier Kim Il Sung's sixtieth birthday. Premier Kim Il Sung prohibits any political event on April 15th. Therefore, we have not invited any visitors from foreign countries and are not expecting any event.

The circumstance is completely different from what it is currently being discussed in the media. In fact, our schedule is expected to be more complex after April 15th. Around April 25th, we have May 1st [event] and are expecting some foreign visitors. Therefore, we will be busier during this period. That is to say, you will be able to meet with Comrade Director Kim Yeongju and other comrades if you visit between the dates of April 1st to 11th. I propose we meet tomorrow afternoon or during the morning the day after tomorrow regarding this issue. When we meet, please provide us with a response regarding this. I could directly phone comrade Director Kim Yeongju from this location to report [your response] and receive a conclusion. This is the end of the official message.

South: You just mentioned that our meeting is even more important than accelerating the Red Cross meeting. What do you mean by our meeting?

North: It refers to the meetings such as the ones between Mr. Jung and Kim Deokhyun and visits from Representative Chang Ki Yeong. In other words, it refers to our meetings that are processed aside to the Red Cross meeting.

South: What is your response to the issues that I mentioned as personal opinion when we met on the 14th? I assume you have reported my personal opinion to Director of Organization and Guidance, Kim Yeongju. (Read through notes.)

North: I have indeed reported what you described as your personal opinion to Comrade Director of Organization and Guidance, Kim Yeongju in person. Kim Yeongju, Director of Organization and Guidance welcomed it, mentioning it is as a good idea. He mentioned that he is willing to meet with Director Lee Hurak if he is the one with President Park's deepest trust. He mentioned, if so we will be able to solve the issues most quickly through a direct approach. However, regarding the meeting location, he stated we should reconsider since there is no reason to travel to a third country when we have sufficient places that are quiet and appropriate to meet within our country. When the two officials meet, it seems there are sufficient issues to be discussed.

South: I personally believe it is quite difficult to hold the meeting within the country in terms of maintaining confidentiality. When the high-level officials determine to meet, Director of Organization and Guidance, Kim Yeongju must visit us or Director Lee Hurak must cross over to the North somehow. However, considering the current circumstances, they must pass through Panmunjeom and there are quite a number of hardships in the process in terms of confidentiality. In order to maintain confidentiality, the officials must stop over at a third country to visit Seoul or Pyongyang. In this regard, a third country will be an appropriate location. Anyways, Mr. Kim and I should make cooperative efforts to promote a meeting for the high-level officials. When we move on to discussing it in detail, we could both examine the issue of where to hold the meeting.

North: Did you also report to Director Lee Hurak on the statement that you mentioned as your personal opinion?

South: I certainly did. I have reported to him in detail even on the conversations that we discussed as personal opinions along with the official discussions. Director Lee Hurak also provided positive remarks regarding the meeting between Director Lee Hurak and Director of Organization and Guidance, Kim Yeongju. Have you reported to Director of Organization and Guidance, Kim Yeongju on my personal suggestion regarding Mr. Kim and I exchanging visits between Seoul and Pyongyang with permissions from high-level officials?

North: I have not reported regarding the issue [to Director Kim Yeongju].

South: Please report to him on the issue and provide us with a response when we meet next time. I believe it will be very helpful if Mr. Kim visits Seoul to meet with Director Lee Hurak in person, and also if I visit Pyongyang to meet with Director of Organization and Guidance, Kim Yeongju. If we listened to the [high-level] official's messages in person and report to the supervisors in person, it will be very helpful for the high-level officials to meet with each other. President Chang Ki Yeong's visit to the North is only a part of exchanging conversation. The two of us (Kim Deokhyun and Jung Hongjin) will be able to provide more practical functions.

North: If Mr. Jung will visit, when would it be?

South: In this case, it can happen much faster. We could enable Mr. Kim and I to visit Seoul and Pyongyang with ease, couldn't we? The reason for us to set President Chang's visit on April 25th was because we considered your schedule but also because we considered President Chang Ki Yeong's health so that he is able to make the visit during the end of April when it is warmer. The date was set as it is also because President Chang Ki Yeong himself needed some time to prepare.

North: Then let's meet tomorrow (17th) again.

South: Let us meet at the Freedom House on the 17th. Since we have the Red Cross working-level meeting tomorrow, I will confirm the time when the meeting finishes. Let us plan on around 13:30 to 14:00 roughly.

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DOCUMENT No. 84

[Source: South Korean Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Song Jihei]

Date and Time: March 17, 1972 14:00-14:45

Location: Freedom House, Panmunjeom

Details:

South: I have reported to Director Lee Hurak about both the official and private conversations we had on the 16th. Director Lee Hurak highly welcomed Director of Organization and Guidance, Kim Yeongju's comment that he welcomes a direct conversation between Director Kim and Director Lee. Also he ordered that I deliver his candid remarks as follows.

He commented, "The ultimate method for a peaceful resolution of the issues on the Korean Peninsula is for Mr. Kim Yeongju and Director Lee Hurak to meet and discuss in person." He also stated, "Since Mr. Kim Yeongju welcomes the meeting (between Director Lee Hurak and Mr. Kim Yeongju), it may be more efficient that Mr. Kim Deokhyun, who is trusted by Mr. Kim Yeongju and Jung Hongjin, who I trust, exchange visits instead of involving a third person. In order to pursue a meeting between the two high-level officials, it will be more efficient and also we will be able to expedite the process. Therefore, I would like to withdraw our suggestion to send Mr. Chang Ki Yeong and newly propose Mr. Kim Deokhyun and Jung Hongjin to exchange visits based on mutual trust."

"The proposal is a revised suggestion in pursuit of our grand objective, bearing our active will. It is never a negative revision. I'd like to emphasize it," he mentioned. This is the end of the Director's message that I'd like to officially deliver and I would appreciate if you could provide us with your response as soon as possible.

North: I welcome your suggestion to expedite the meetings between Comrade Director Kim Yeongju and Director Lee Hurak. On the other hand, while this is only my personal thoughts, wouldn't you consider Mr. Chang Ki Yeong's visit since it's already been in progress? (As the North has been suggesting vague political conversation between the South and the North, they seemed surprised that our proposal is very practical and that we expressed strong intention to expedite the conversations between Director Lee Hurak and Director of Organization and Guidance, Kim Yeongju. It is assumed that they showed a diffident attitude and the voice also sounded as if they lacked confidence.)

South: President Chang Ki Yeong's visit was planned to promote conversations without any other specific purpose. Since we have reached an agreement in welcoming and promoting an in person meeting between Director Lee Hurak and Director of Organization and Guidance, Kim Yeongju through candid conversation with Mr. Kim previously, I believe it is very desirable that we select a practical method that will facilitate the conversation [between the high-level officials].

North: I will return our response when we meet next time.

South: I look forward to a positive response from you [when we meet] on the 20th, 10a.m. at Panmun-gak.

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DOCUMENT No. 85

[Source: South Korean Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Song Jihei]

Date and Time: March 20, 1972 10:00-11:15

Location: Panmun-gak, Panmunjeom

Details:

North: I have accurately reported Director Lee Hurak's message from Mr. Jung on the 17th, to comrade Kim Yeongju who is the Director of Organization and Guidance in the Central Committee of our Party.

Director of Organization and Guidance, Kim Yeongju ordered that I deliver the following message to Mr. Jung. It is as follows.

“I believe it is very desirable that Director Lee Hurak give a grand significance to a meeting with me and that he is actively promoting it. Based on the Director's suggestion that he send Mr. Chang Ki Yeong, we already invited him and were in the process of discussing the appropriate dates for his visit. However, on the 17th, you suddenly withdrew the proposal to send Mr. Chang Ki Yeong and newly proposed to replace it with an exchange of visits of the two representatives who are already in contact. Our opinion is that we are already past the stage where the liaisons travel to build connections since Director Lee Hurak and I have already settled on the meeting in principle. I believe it is time for the high-level officials, who can represent the highest-level officials in discussing national issues openly and frankly, to physically meet. The meetings between myself and Director Lee Hurak will contribute to promoting such goals. I sincerely wish to meet with Director Lee Hurak in the nearest possible future. When Director Lee Hurak visits, we will welcome him as a highly honored guest for he is pursuing such a grand national undertaking and assure you his personal safety as well as full hospitality.

When Director Lee Hurak visits, he will be able to meet with the highest-level official. If there are difficulties and inconveniences with Director Lee Hurak visiting us, we believe it is possible that we meet in a third country. In addition, if Director Lee Hurak is unable to be away from his office for too long, we will also welcome a visit from another high-level official who has the confidence of highest-level official and is able to represent the highest-level official. We believe it is the desired method to rapidly and actively solve the issues of our nation. Also, we have no objections if you'd like to send Representative Jung Hongjin to deliver his opinion or letters from the highest-level official or Director Lee Hurak.”

South: Will you allow us to interpret your statement as a full agreement to Director Lee Hurak's revised proposal on the 17th?

North: Yes, you may.

South: That you mentioned we are already past the stage of liaison exchange visits since Director Lee Hurak and Director of Organization and Guidance Kim Yeongju agreed on a high-level officials' meeting. Does this mean that you welcome Director Lee Hurak withdrawing Mr. Chang Ki Yeong's visit?

North: It means that we agree to Director Lee Hurak's active proposal.

South: In the end of your statement, you stated that there has to be a specific purpose when I (Jung Hongjin) visit, what does that mean?

North: When Mr. Jung visits us, the purpose should be to deliver Director Lee Hurak's personal letter or his direct opinion (emphasized direct opinion). It is correct that you understand that Mr. Jung and I (Kim Deokhyun) exchange unrestricted visits. (Kim Deokhyun was in a good mood throughout and it seemed that he received new trust and encouragement from Kim Yeongju) When will it be a good time to meet again to hear your response?

South: Since we have completely agreed to in person meetings between the high-level officials, we should each examine the issues regarding the meeting. We should meet at 10:00, the 22nd at Freedom House.

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DOCUMENT No. 86

[Source: South Korean Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Song Jihei]

Date and Time: March 22, 1972 10:00-10:45

Location: Freedom House, Panmunjeom

Details:

South: I have accurately reported to Director Lee Hurak on Director of Organization and Guidance, Kim Yeongju's statement delivered through Mr. Kim Deokhyun on the 20th. Director Lee appreciates Director Kim Yeongju accepting "my proposal" on the 17th. Especially, he mentioned that Director Kim Yeongju's statement delivered through Mr. Kim Deokhyun on the 15th, "It would be best to promote conversations first and then move on to solving the issues of our nation's peaceful reunification" is completely in accordance with his opinions, and he is very glad about the fact. In addition, based on the suggestions made on the 17th, he mentioned that he will send Comrade Jung Hongjin who I trust according to the process discussed on a date of your convenience. He also stated that the detailed schedule is to be determined by Comrade Jung Hongjin himself and that he should report updates and maintain frequent contacts through the Panmunjeom liaison office. Also, Director Lee Hurak cordially invited Mr. Kim Deokhyun, and requested that you advise us on the desired dates for Mr. Kim Deokhyun's visit. He mentioned

that he guarantees Mr. Kim Deokhyun's safety and will extend every hospitality during his visit with the conscience of a fellow countryman. Director Lee Hurak also wishes to have meetings with Director Kim Yeongju in the near future and suggested that the location, time and methods to be discussed through Comrade Jung Hongjin and Mr. Kim Deokhyun. This is the end of his official message.

North: (Mentioning it is his personal opinion) We will welcome you anytime if the visit is to deliver the highest-level official's or Director Lee Hurak's immediate opinion or personal letter. We agree to your visit processed according to the previously discussed process and also fully assure your safety as well as provide you the memorandum regarding safety. When Mr. Jung visits us, we will greet you with the warm heart of a fellow countryman. Detailed dates and procedures are fully entrusted to me (Kim Deokhyun). Therefore, it is desirable that we settle the details here at this point.

South: Director Lee has entrusted me with the issues regarding dates and duration of the visit. I am willing to make the visit at any time of your convenience. I believe around three days is appropriate for the duration of the visit.

North: Since we have the working-level conference for the Red Cross Conference on March 24th, how about the next day, the 25th?

South: Since we will have a busy schedule due to the working-level conference, I suggest March 28th, 11:00 is more appropriate.

North: That is fine. Then I will greet you at Panmun-gak on the 28th at 11:00. (Emphasized that it is a personal opinion and read through a note on the issues regarding location and time for Director Lee Hurak and Director Kim Yeongju's in person meeting as follows.) The meeting can take place at a third country. However, the best would be to hold it inside the country. The reason is because they will be able to meet with the highest-level officials only when the meeting takes place inside the country. It is in fact true that they won't be able to meet with the highest-level officials if we hold the meeting in a third country. During the meeting, significant issues regarding the destiny of our people will be discussed and due to this reason, I believe we will be able to successfully solve all the issues when the delegates are able to meet with the highest-level officials. We will be able to hold the meeting in the near future and also be able to maintain confidentiality when the meeting takes place inside the country (It will attract attention when significant figures from both the South and the North enter a third country. Therefore, it is difficult to maintain security). In addition, we will be able to manage various conditions for the conference that way.

I believe the conference can be held in Pyongyang or in Wonsan. In case it is inconvenient to enter through Panmunjeom, the officials could travel through a third country or also by sea. I believe it is appropriate to select a date between April 3rd and 12th. We should both carefully examine and decide on the location, date and methods.

South: When will Mr. Kim accept our invitation?

North: We should discuss the issue after your visit.

South: Shouldn't Mr. Kim visit Seoul and listen to Director Lee Hurak's words in person? When I visit Pyongyang, I look forward to listening to Director of Organization and Guidance Kim Yeongju's candid thoughts and his ideas on ways to solve the South-North issues peacefully.

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DOCUMENT No. 87

[Source: South Korean Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Song Jihei]

Conversation with Kim Yeongju (1)

Date and Time: March 28, 1972 17:00-18:40

Location: Heungbu Reception Area, Pyongyang

Participants:

South

JUNG Hongjin Director of Conference Management, Conference Office, Korean Red Cross

North

Kim Yeongju Director of Organization and Guidance Department, Workers' Party of Korea

KIM Joong Lin Secretary of the Central Committee, Workers' Party of Korea

Kim Deokhyun Responsible Leader for the Political Bureau, Central Committee, Workers' Party of Korea

KIM: How is President Park Chung Hee?

Is Director Lee Hurak doing well?

It is highly desirable that we exchange conversations and discuss the issue of peaceful reunification. There shouldn't be diplomacy between us fellow countrymen. Whatever the issue is, we should discuss it openly and without hesitation. (He showed a very candid attitude.)

JUNG: I would like to cordially deliver Director Lee Hurak's regards.

This is the letter of confidence from Director Lee and his personal letter. (Presented letter of confidence and personal letter.)

KIM: There is no need to read the letter of confidence since we trust each other. I will take a look at his personal letter. (He did not look at the letter of confidence but opened Director Lee's personal letter and read through it.) If you have a message from Director Lee Hurak in particular, please deliver it first.

JUNG: I will deliver Director Lee Hurak's message.

Director Lee mentioned that the meeting in pursuit of our reunification must begin at some point and it is better when it happens sooner. He mentioned that a break in conversations would not simply be a tragedy between the South and the North, but would also be a display of the backwardness of the Korean people to the international community. Especially, he laments deeply about the current political reality in which the South and the North can't help but to defame each other. As a result of this the Koreans people are giving an impression to the international community that we are underdeveloped people. He believes such a situation must be eradicated as soon as possible.

Director Lee mentioned that our nation's issue of peaceful reunification must be ultimately solved through the in person conversations between Director Lee Hurak and Director Kim in consideration of the current position.

He noted the fact that there were a number of suggestions regarding peaceful reunification until now. However, he pointed out that such one-sided suggestions will not solve the issue. He suggested that Director Lee and Director Kim must sit down together, find commonalities and reach an agreement. As a result, we must accept a method which is suggested by both parties and a one-sided suggestion will not solve the issue of reunification. He mentioned that it is what he intends to speak with Director Kim about at the in person conference.

The basic course Director Lee Hurak has in mind is to proceed with conferences for our nation's peaceful reunification, allocating sufficient time and at the same time he observes that we should achieve exchanges in material and human resources as soon as possible.

It is not only the mission for the South and the North but also is a task for us to prove to the world that our people are not brutal and underdeveloped.

Director Lee believes that such tasks are not solved through one-sided suggestions and therefore, he has to meet with Director Kim Yeongju to reach an outstanding agreement. Also the agreement must be put into action not with the leadership of one party. Eventually, for domestic and international audiences, it is best to show that we are both taking the lead, not giving an impression of one party being active and the other being submissive.

Therefore, Director Lee hopes to hear about Director Kim Yeongju's idea on these issues, and also he believes he will be able to provide his candid opinion when Mr. Kim Doekhyun visits Seoul.

In pursuit of such objectives, Director Lee wishes to meet with Director Kim Yeongju in Pyongyang or in Wonsan or even in a third country in the nearest future. In advance to the meeting, it is preferable that we mutually exchange opinions through our connection between Mr. Kim and me. This is the purpose of my visit to Pyongyang.

Such issues Director Lee pointed out begin from his sincere will and it will be solved successfully when the two of you meet and discuss them.

As I have spoken before, Director Lee Hurak deeply laments about the political reality in which the South and the North can't help but to defame each other and as a result our people giving an impression to the international community that we are underdeveloped people. Whether we achieve it sooner or later, we must initiate conversations in pursuit of our reunification. On the other hand, we should make possible

the exchanges in material and human resources. As a result, he wishes to dissolve the isolation between the South and the North and our people to be recognized by the international community as sensible people.

KIM: I greatly appreciate Director Lee delivering his candid and kind message through Mr. Jung Hongjin.

I am well aware that Director Lee Hurak is someone President Park Chung Hee trusts. Knowing this, I would like to meet with him as soon as possible as Director Lee Hurak also mentioned. We can expect all the issues to be solved rapidly when we build on mutual connection and exchange conversations in the near future.

As Director Lee mentioned, it is best that we meet as soon as possible. I believe there are a number of issues to be discussed when we meet. It is never desirable for the people of the same nation to be divided into the South and the North abusing each other. Such circumstances need to be eradicated. Not only eradicating such unfortunate circumstances, we must achieve our long-desired wish for reunification. When we meet, there are a number of issues to be discussed and I believe we will be able to carry out the discussions with open-minds. While many issues will be discussed when we meet, the ultimate goal is the reunification of our motherland. Many issues will be discussed in order to achieve such a goal. One fact we must keep in mind is that while the two (Director Lee and Mr. Kim) must meet to discuss a number of issues, a final conclusion cannot be reached through the discussions between the two. Final conclusion must be arranged through the discussions between the General Secretary and President Park Chung Hee.

Therefore, the fact that Director Lee Hurak and I meet and carry on discussions can be compared to Mr. Jung Hongjin and comrade Kim Deokhyun meeting to arrange the meeting between Director Lee and I. Ultimately, it is to provide an opportunity for the General Secretary and President Park Chung Hee to exchange conversations.

Since Director Lee Hurak is the person President Park Chung Hee trusts most, I believe he must be well acquainted with President Park's thoughts and policies. Kim Yeongju is also very familiar with "the General Secretary's" thoughts and his policy line.

It is highly significant that I meet with Director Lee. Therefore, I must meet with him. ([Kim] Offered tea and [the two officials] drank tea together.)

Let us move on to the main agenda.

Ultimately, we must reach reunification through peaceful method without relying on external power. The focus is in the reunification of our motherland.

Mr. Jung Hongjin suggested to comrade Kim Deokhyun about what we will discuss, in other words, the establishment of agenda. The central goal is to achieve reunification and we must discuss numerous issues in order to achieve this goal. It is difficult to discuss the determination of the agenda here. We must study this a little further. However, I can discuss a few issues even at this moment. What are the issues that we can discuss now? (He glanced over his notes once in a while as he spoke.)

First of all, as Director Lee Hurak mentioned, what is the reason that brought us to abuse and defame each other? The reason comes from mutual misunderstanding and distrust, I believe. Is this desirable, in fact? No, it is not. When I meet with Director Lee Hurak in the future, the issues to be discussed will include how we will resolve mutual distrust and mutual misunderstanding. Our discussion will start with this issue. Such an

issue is not solved with efforts by a third person. This is an issue that is internal to our people, we must be able to find a solution ourselves. We need to discuss what the reason is that made us distrust each other. After discussions, we must trust and understand each other, and eventually, the final conclusion must be made by the highest officials.

I believe the discussions between Director Lee and I will serve as a foundation for the highest officials to reach conclusion. Let's take an example on the issue of distrust, what do we think about President Park Chung Hee? I believe you are interested in this matter. We believe, conversations between the "Korean Worker's Party" and the Republican Party cannot happen without President Park's presence. We need to discuss open-mindedly on misunderstandings and distrust. For the matters that we can forgive, we must forget. For those we can solve at this point, we must find solutions. Also, for the matters that we need to study more, we should study more. Ultimately, we must initiate conversations as soon as possible. There are plenty of issues [to be discussed]. In order to discuss these in detail, I must meet with Director Lee in person as soon as possible.

Second is the difference in political opinions.

We can also discuss this issue. There are differences in political opinions. Nevertheless, I believe we can put aside our differences as much as possible if we sit down and discuss them. For instance, regarding the matter of establishing *Juche*, we could reach an agreement or draw closer our opinions when we discuss the matter together. No one ever brought about the *Juche* ideology before. Our "General Secretary" developed the ideology for the first time in the world. The "people in the North of the Republic" are in a process of development based on this *Juche* ideology. Therefore, the *Juche* ideology has become the principle for the people in the North. Recently, President Park gave a speech at the Educators' Assembly. He brought up the issue of independence, self-reliance, and self-defense. I read his speech. I believe he brought up a great point. In order to establish *Juche*, we must be independent in politics. During the [anti-Japanese] army struggles, there was a song called Song of Freedom. In the song, a line goes "without freedom, a person is alive but dead." In the end, it supports the idea of independence. What is required to promote independence in politics? We must strongly object to worshipping the powerful.

At the Fifth Party Congress, the "General Secretary" mentioned in his report that "When a person worships the powerful, the person becomes a fool. When a nation worships the powerful, the nation becomes ruined." The significant part of his statement is that he spoke based on the history of a nation, I believe. Taking an example from recent history, why was our country under the rule of the Japanese? It is also due to the conflict between the feudal ruling group and the people but it is mainly because we worshiped the powerful.

Flunkeyism is a painful lesson in our nation's history. We must put an end to Flunkeyism in our history. We can put an end to Flunkeyism. The reality in the "North of the Republic" expresses this. We conduct and promote everything independently. The South and the North together should put an end to Flunkeyism. We notice that you are promoting a policy to distrust the powerful states. It is a great effort. The strong powers pretend that they support you. However, ultimately they promote their own good. I forgot to mention one thing. (Stressing that he forgot.)

We do not have the Soviet Union or China [backing us]. Even the children know that worshipping the powerful is evil. It is needless to mention Japan's impudence, brutality and guile.

The Korean-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce was agreed in 1882. However, the Taft-Katsura Agreement was secretly reached in 1905 and was finally announced in 1924. Therefore, the *Chosun* people must reach reunification through self-determination and must stand independently even after the reunification. Our country will fail when we worship the powerful. Therefore, we must promote independence in governance. We did not know that you promote policy to distrust the strong powers. We only learned it recently and we believe it is very much favorable. When we were not aware of the fact, we considered you still had the United States and Japanese influence behind you.

Another issue in political difference is which system we should pick between Communist and Capitalist. I believe we shouldn't be concerned about this issue. Nonetheless, it is the course of natural principle in world history that Communism triumphs in the international sphere. This course is the transition from Democracy to Communism. President Park also stated we should be able to defend ourselves. We can find commonalities in self-defense to draw our ideas closer.

We do not intend to overturn your system with force. Indeed, we do not plan to use force at all. Then, what did we think [about the South] so far? Frankly speaking, we have prepared for a war, thinking that the Americans are inciting the South and the Japanese to have a war with us.

Preparation for war from a Communist standpoint is building a safeguard capacity. Especially, as Japanese militarism was restored, it is true that they constructed Operation Three Arrows (referring to Mitsuya Kenkyu) targeting the North of the Republic, isn't it? How are we going to settle the issue regarding military conflict? There is going to be no war if you dismiss the American Army from the South and [promise] not [to] conspire with the Japanese. Should the Koreans go through fratricidal war? I believe we are able to find a solution to this matter as well.

This is also one of the issues to be discussed in detail when I meet with Director Lee Hurak.

Next is the self-reliance in economy. We can also seek a solution through conversations. We are aware that the South is more developed in light industry. Of course, we are self-reliant in light industry as well. You can't find any product made outside of the country [in the North]. On the other hand, we have a well-developed heavy industry. In mechanical production industry which is the essence of heavy industry, we are capable of everything with the exception of aircraft production. Our electricity production per capita is 1,140 kw/h. Even the most remote area in rural agricultural community is equipped with telephone cable. Per capita production of steel is 158kg. For chemical fertilizer, it is 108kg. Therefore, I believe we will be successful if the South and the North pooled together in the category of a self-reliant economy. In terms of investment, unlike from the large sum of foreign capital in the South, in the North it is strictly domestic capital [investment]. With the South and the North combined, we are fully capable of utilizing domestic capital only. While discussing the establishment of an agenda, we can discuss such issues. Other issues can be discussed in an investigating stage.

To summarize, we are a single nation sharing a history from time immemorial and share same bloodline. [Therefore,] We must achieve peaceful reunification. Anyhow, we must sit together face to face. Exchanging conversations is a great thing.

(Extemporaneously looking around the assembly, he spoke as the following in a touched voice.)

It feels as if I am dreaming that I am sitting with Mr. Jung. I have waited for you for a long time. I have high expectations for your visit to Pyongyang, and also, I've looked forward to it. My heart is filled with deep emotions. This moment feels like a dream. [For] I am speaking with an official representative [from the South] anyhow..... [For] We are able to discuss the possibility of removing the barrier [between our people] in our motherland..... We must sit together as soon as possible for the issues [to be solved]. In the future, I believe the "General Secretary" and President Park Chung Hee must sit together. (Continued jokingly)

You must be doing an excellent job in intelligence. What made you select me?

JUNG: I will deliver Director Kim's messages accurately to Director Lee Hurak when I return.

KIM: Thank you. We should take a break and have dinner together.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 88

[Source: South Korean Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Song Jihei]

Conversation with Kim Yeongju (2)

Date and Time: March 31, 1972 11:30-11:40

Location: Heungbu Reception Area, Pyongyang

Participants:

South

JUNG Hongjin Director of Conference Management, Conference Office, Korean Red Cross

North

KIM Yeongju Director of Organization and Guidance Department, Workers' Party of Korea

KIM Joong Lin Secretary of the Central Committee, Workers' Party of Korea

KIM Deokhyun Chief Officer of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, Workers' Party of Korea

JUNG: Did you have a good night's sleep? I'd like to bid farewell to you before I leave. I greatly appreciate your hospitality during my visit.

KIM: It is a good thing that we treat each other with respect. Was there anything uncomfortable? I don't have a particular message.....
We must overcome our differences in political view, religion and faith.
We must reach the reunification of our nation. For the things we can draw closer, we must draw closer and for the things that we should overlook, we must do so. I don't have a particular message but please deliver the following message to Director Lee Hurak.

1. I received your personal letter with gratitude. I am thankful for your kindness.
2. I would like to meet you soon and have a candid conversation.
3. I would like to express some personal opinions regarding Director Lee Hurak's visit. It is favorable for us that Director Lee visits before April 12th. I will send a trusted high-ranking official to Panmunjeom or Wonsan to greet Director Lee. I will warmly welcome Director Lee and believe we are able to handle the conferences and conversations without diplomacy.
4. The reason for setting the date as April 12th is because I have a public proposition to make and believe it is better that I discuss the issue with Director Lee prior to the proposal. After I hear Director Lee's thoughts, why would I make unilateral a proposition? I enthusiastically welcome Director Lee's suggestions. It is the reason why I suggest that he visits us in the near future.
5. As a return (for Jung's visit) I would like to send our delegate. The dates are to be discussed. I will consider sending comrade Kim Deokhyun, or comrade Kim accompanied by other officials. I will discuss them with the other officials.
6. I will send him a personal letter. The letter will include details about the invitation for Director Lee Hurak and the issue regarding when to visit.

JUNG: Farewell. I will deliver your messages and your kind hospitality to Director Lee.

KIM: Please deliver my regards to Director Lee and have a safe trip.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 89

[Source: South Korean Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Song Jihei]

Meeting with Director of KCIA Lee Hurak (1)

Date and Time: April 19, 1972 13:43-14:30

Location: KCIA Director's Office, 19th Floor, Government Complex, Seoul

Participants:
South

LEE Hurak Director of Korean Central Intelligence Agency
LEE Cheol Hee Acting Deputy Director of Intelligence Service, Korean Central
Intelligence Agency
JUNG Hongjin Director of Conference Management, Conference Office, Korean Red
Cross

North
Kim Deokhyun Chief Officer of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, Workers' Party
of Korea

South: Welcome. It is unfortunate that it started to rain as you arrived.

North: How is President Park?

South: How are Premier Kim and Director Kim Yeongju?

North: I'd like to deliver Director Kim Yeongju's regards along with his letter of confidence and a personal letter.

South: (Confirmed the letter of confidence)

North: Comrade Director of Organization and Guidance mentioned he does not have a particular message since Mr. Jung Hongjin visited and spoke with him. He mentioned that he'd appreciate if you could provide us with many good remarks.

South: I've heard all about the things discussed through comrade Jung Hongjin. Director Kim's thoughts were completely in accord with my thoughts. I believe I have the feeling not because I heard about it. It is because we [both] belong to the white-robed race.

While there may be some repetition, I'd like to speak to you frankly about what I think. There are clearly some politicians in both the South and the North who hope for our reunification promoted through military force. It is also a fact that both the South and the North have been building war preparations for the past 20 years. There are some people in the South who wish for a northward reunification using military force. In such a case, it may be possible that we triumph and reach reunification. Moreover, I believe there are some people who wish to use armed force in the North as well and it may be possible to achieve reunification through the invasion of the South. However, if we reunify through a war again, "Heecheon Factory" in the North and Wolsan Second Industrial Complex or the oil refinery in the South will be devastated and our people have to go back to the point before the Korean War.

I feel responsible for the circumstance as I am in charge of a section of the government. The North has a Communist system and the South has a Capitalist system. The systems are different to both extremes. Therefore, reunification requires a sufficient amount of time and effort. Nonetheless, we can't sit still and wait for reunification to happen. We must promote non-political exchanges. We have established the Red Cross meetings as a step towards these exchanges.

We should conduct the conversation between Director Kim Yeongju and me as the both of us are well acquainted with the highest-level officials' thoughts. I believe it is best that Director Kim and I take on such tasks on our own back. Instead of remaining indifferent until we achieve reunification, we should exchange [material matters] and interchange [non-material matters] if we can. I suggest that we need to get rid of any discomfort in our people's social lives even prior to our reunification. There are two ways in order to achieve this objective,

First is for Director Kim Yeongju and me to meet after drawing our opinions closer through working-level meetings. The other is for Mr. Kim Yeongju and me to meet in person first to speak openly and then hold working-level meetings.

I will study the issue. However, I hope Director Kim Yeongju has a chance to examine the issue as well. To summarize,

1. We must initiate political meetings in order to achieve reunification as soon as possible,
2. We should exchange officials and communications on the economy even before we solve the issues with political reunification,
3. In order to promote this objective, Mr. Kim Yeongju and I should hold meetings.

North: You have mentioned that there are two methods. You have mentioned the first is to hold working-level meetings and the other is for the two [high-level] officials to meet first and discuss the issues openly. Comrade Director Kim Yeongju stated the latter is very much desired.

South: I endorse the idea that we meet first and then hold working-level meetings. We shall so proceed.

North: I will accurately report Director Lee's statement [to Director Kim].

South: In the letter, you mentioned that you will entrust the date of visit to me. I will deliver the answer through comrade Jung later.

North: The international circumstance is changing rapidly. We must meet as soon as possible. Please notify me the preferred date of your visit. The two high-level officials must meet to find a desired solution for the South and North misunderstandings and peaceful reunification of our motherland. If you are unable to visit during April, we would like to have another official who President Park trusts to visit us. Among them we would like to have Mr. Chang Ki Yeong visit. When Mr. Chang Ki Yeong visits, Second Vice-premier Pak Seongcheol will meet with Mr. Chang Ki Yeong. He [Director Kim Yeongju] stated the best would be Director Lee Hurak visiting us.

South: Even after Mr. Kim Deokhyun's departure, I will contact [you] through comrade Jung in the near future.

North: Would you be able to answer us if you could visit us soon during April?

South: I would like to visit you soon. Of course, it is best that I visit. Anyways, I will try to remain within the range of what Mr. Kim Yeongju had planned. The details include the

possibility of who will visit [whether I will visit or someone else will visit] and also when to visit. . Mr. Kim Yeongju is occupied in many tasks, isn't he?

North: He is occupied with a number of tasks. However, he is looking forward to discussing issues with Director Lee Hurak.

South: I was previously told that you are quite occupied during April..... You also have the "May Day" events.....

North: We both had different reasons then.

South: Even within the government, there are some people who support the idea that we force one-sided suggestions [to the North]. I am arguing to avoid it from happening. We shall not force one-sided suggestions. Such things (one-sided suggestions) rather get in the way of achieving reunification. In order to coincide with the prevailing opinion in the international community, [forcing] one-sided suggestions is to be avoided.

North: In order to solve such issues, the two high-level officials ought to meet as soon as possible.

South: Very well. It is the most urgent task among our nation's historic assignments.

North: It is true. We must resolve the misunderstanding and distrust between the South and the North. We should resolve what we can and we should pass over the things we can. This is what comrade Director of Organization thinks.

South: I am able to tell because I sympathize with him. Even without a long conversation, I've become aware of what you think. Although it may be somewhat uncomfortable, we must meet face to face to talk openly and it will lead to finding solutions to our issues.

North: Comrade Kim Yeongju wishes for an unconstrained procedure without diplomacy. He is also well acquainted with the Premier's intention. For instance regarding the defamation issue, we are able to solve it soon.

South: Although we were unable to reach an agreement on the agenda you previously proposed, the media has changed quite a lot for the past three days, don't you think?

North: I was very glad to listen to the [change in the] media.

South: It is a short distance [from the North] to Seoul, isn't it?

North: It is very close indeed. I am deeply touched.

South: Anyways, I believe Mr. Kim visited and accomplished the tasks for Mr. Kim [Yeongju]. Although it is short, I hope you take a good rest. I will speak with you again tomorrow if there is

anything I forgot or anything I'd like to add. We, people of the same motherland, were set apart because the 38th parallel divided us. Anyways, please take a good rest.

North: I consider I am at my own home.

South: You do not need to be concerned. Let's say this out loud. Mr. Kim is a Communist and I am a Capitalist. Will it work even if someone tries to brainwash us?

"Mr. Jung, show them as it is." We should meet tomorrow at 18:00. Since we have the Indonesian CIA Director visiting us today, Mr. Kim and I should have dinner together.

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DOCUMENT No. 90

[Source: South Korean Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Song Jihei]

Meeting with Director of KCIA Lee Hurak (2)

Date and Time: April 20, 1972 17:00-17:35

Location: KCIA Director's Office, 19th Floor, Government Complex, Seoul

Participants:

South

Lee Hurak Director of Korean Central Intelligence Agency

LEE Acting Deputy Director of Intelligence Service, Korean Central Intelligence Agency

JUNG Hongjin Director of Conference Management, Conference Office, Korean Red Cross

North

Kim Deokhyun Chief Officer of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, Workers' Party of Korea

South: Does Mr. Kim have anything else to ask?

North: There is nothing more.

South: I would like to clarify one more time. Director Kim Yeongju mentioned that he would prefer my visit to occur during April. However, since today is April 20th, it is somewhat too close in hand. Also, there are some personal reasons. Therefore, I'd like to visit during the beginning of May. In such case, I will notify you at least a week ahead. Frankly speaking, I have determined to visit the North solely based on my trust for comrade Director Kim Yeongju.

Nonetheless, we must study how we can avoid the future historians speaking of my visit as a careless journey. Mr. Jung should study this matter.

I couldn't care less about such a matter. However, you should examine what [kind of] memorandum I should accept [to make the visit] in regards to the administrative procedure. Comrade Jung should discuss this with Mr. Kim Deokhyun. Mr. Kim might or might not remember this. However, when I suggested that Mr. Kim Yeongju and I meet in a third country, Mr. Kim Yeongju mentioned it is better that we meet at a domestic location. Afterwards, he added we could meet in the country or also outside the country. When I suggested meeting at a third country, what I had in mind was that we must jointly announce our issue in order to avoid giving the impression that one [actively] proposes and the other [submissively] accepts. The details of our announcement should include who and who met from when to when at where to discuss the South-North issues. As a result, we have agreed to the following in pursuit of our nation's peaceful reunification. We will each make our best effort to utilize our influence in attaining what we have agreed.

1. We will initiate the negotiation for our nation's reunification in the near future,
2. As a part of the negotiation, we should facilitate the exchange in human and material resources and in communication.

Once we present such a joint-statement, the spokesperson for our government officially announces that the government welcomes the agreement. This was my original plan. Now that we are shifting the location to Pyongyang, I am not certain how we should apply this I am speaking without any concealment that it was the main reason I suggested meeting at a third country.

Director Lee Hurak in the South and Director Kim Yeongju in the North, the two of us endeavor ourselves as the flag-bearers of peace, it will be solved peacefully. If we are unable to provide our influence [in solving the issue], and when we fall to the challenge of those who argue for solving the issue through force, the result can be fatal since there are extremists in each society and organization.

North: I greatly appreciate your candid statement. I will accurately report [to Director Kim] without omitting a single word. When Director Lee visits Pyongyang, we will be able to achieve some good results.

South: The issues that we have are tasks that need to be handled. I expect there will be troubles on both side when handling such tasks. However, regardless of what people say, I believe if we strive with sincere patriotism, the opposing party will eventually understand us. When I visit Pyongyang, you should not consider me as a foreigner and treat me as a foreigner.

North: We will welcome you with our heart. When we return, we will start preparations to greet you as a guest of the state.

South: You shouldn't do that. We should never be involved in a war. In the South, I will be the advocate [for not having a war], and on your side, Director Kim Yeongju should take the role. Although there may be some hardship in the peaceful resolution of our issues, we must never hastily engage in a war.

North: Regarding the issue, comrade Director Kim Yeongju also clearly mentioned that not engaging in a war is highly desired.

South: During the Korean War, the South was largely destroyed. The North was likewise, correct?

North: In terms of destruction, the North was worse. The population in Pyongyang was about 400 thousand then. There were 500 thousand bombs dropped in Pyongyang city. Only two buildings (one of them was Hwashin Department Store, built by the Japanese) survived the bombing. Not only that, but all the factories were destroyed.

South: You don't need to mention destruction. I have watched a documentary film on the Korean War today. I have not only seen the destruction the war resulted but also the distress people experienced due to the war. We must prevent such an event from happening, and there has to be people working to stop this. The media [in the South] speaks about your intent to invade the South. There are people on our side arguing for a solution using force. I am quite certain there are some people who argue the same on your side. Whoever attempts to make it happen, we must oppose the idea to solve our issue with force and stop such unfortunate event from happening. I would like to stress one more time. If we experience a war at the current time, it will be not at all like the war we experienced 20 years ago. I am anxious about even having the shape of our land intact.

North: We have repeatedly mentioned that we have no intent to invade the South. While you may be unable to trust it, you will be able to when you meet with comrade Kim Yeongju.

South: It is not an issue of trusting or not. Regardless of which society you look at, there are always [a group of] extremists. Especially you should not trust what the military men say. Regardless of whether they are from the South or the North, military men always speak confidently [even when they are unsure].

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DOCUMENT No. 91

[Source: Kim Il Sung Works, Volume 26. Pp. 134-ff]

ON THE THREE PRINCIPLES OF NATIONAL REUNIFICATION

Conversations with the South Korean Delegates to the High-Level Political Talks between North and South Korea -May 3, 1972

1. ON THE THREE PRINCIPLES OF NATIONAL REUNIFICATION

I am glad to meet you today.

I am highly delighted and also deeply moved that we, fellow countrymen, have met after a long separation because of the division of the nation.

You say that you have come to discuss the question of national reunification in spite of everything. Your action is very courageous and daring. It is very gratifying that the south Korean authorities have decided to participate in north-south political talks and have sent you to represent them. We warmly welcome this step.

In my speech of August 6 last year, I made it clear that we are ready to make contact with all political parties including the Democratic Republican Party, social organizations and individuals of south Korea at any time. A few days after my speech, the south Korean side responded, agreeing to hold north-south Red Cross talks. Thus began the preliminary talks between the Red Cross organizations of the north and the south, which led to the high-level north-south political discussion.

The doors for contacts and dialogues have now been opened between the north and the south, which have stood alienated from each other for a long time and it has become possible for high-level representatives to meet and exchange views with an open mind. This is a tremendous step towards the solution of the reunification question.

At present the whole nation desires the reunification of the country. Today nothing is more urgent for the Korean people than national reunification. If we fail to reunify the country as soon as possible and allow national division to continue, our nation may become a plaything of the great powers and be divided into two for ever.

The most important factor which characterizes a nation is the community of language and culture. Even people of the same descent cannot be regarded as belonging to the same nation if they use different spoken and written languages and their cultures and customs differ. Now, because our country has been divided for a long time, the language, as well as the culture and way of life, is already changing in the north and the south. The longer the division of the nation, the greater the difference in the language and way of life will be.

After liberation some people in the northern half of the country insisted that the Korean alphabet should be reformed. But I opposed it if we carry out an alphabet reform when the country is not reunified; the Korean people will be divided in two for ever. So I told the linguists at the time that if ever an alphabet reform was to be introduced it should be after the reunification of the country, but never before reunification. If either side were to carry out an alphabet reform while the country is divided, the north and the south would come to use different letters. In that case, our nation would be divided into two nations once and for all.

We cannot tolerate that the Korean nation should be split into two forever. We should reunify the country as soon as possible and hand over a unified country to posterity. If we end national division and achieve reunification our country can become a powerful state with a population of

50 million, a brilliant national culture, and a powerful national economy, which no one will dare provoke.

In order to reunify the country, it is necessary to establish the fundamental principles correctly, which can provide the basis for the solution of the reunification question. This is most important. Only when there are fundamental principles agreed upon by the north and the south, can the two sides make joint efforts for reunification and successfully solve all problems concerning it.

I believe that our reunification question should on all accounts be settled independently without foreign interference and peacefully on the principle of promoting great national unity.

First, national reunification should be achieved independently without reliance on outside forces and free from their interference.

Solving the reunification question independently on the principle of self-determination of the people is the principled stand which has always been maintained by the Government of our Republic.

If we depend on outside forces we cannot solve this problem. The question of Korean reunification is entirely an internal affair of our country. If we try to solve this internal affair by relying on outside forces instead of settling it on our own, it is shameful for our nation.

Some people are now trying to solve the reunification problem with guarantees afforded by big powers. This is a great mistake. The imperialist powers do not want to see our country reunified. By nature, they like division and attempt to divide other countries and peoples by all possible means, because it is difficult to rule them when they are united. Therefore, we should on no account rely on the great powers in settling the reunification question. If contacts are established and talks are held within our nation, we can remove distrust and misunderstanding and achieve national unity and reunification. Why then should we ask for the help of great powers?

We should not tolerate foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea under any circumstances. No foreign force has the right to meddle in Korean affairs, and while there is foreign interference the question of national reunification cannot be solved in keeping with the desire and interests of our nation. The reunification of the country should be achieved by the Korean people themselves free from any foreign interference.

You say that the south Korean authorities are also opposed to foreign interference and intend to settle the question of national reunification independently without US and Japanese involvement, and pledge that you will never become a stooge of the United States or Japan. If this is true, it *is* excellent.

If we are to reject foreign intervention and reunify the country independently, we must categorically oppose flunkeyism towards great powers.

I always tell our officials that, if a man takes to flunkeyism, he will become a fool; if a nation falls into flunkeyism, the country will be ruined; and if a party adopts flunkeyism, it will make a

mess of the revolution and construction. If a man wants to be an independent being, he must never adopt flunkeyism which means worshipping others blindly.

As our country is geographically located in the midst of big countries, flunkeyism has played a great part in the history of our people. It hampered the advance of our people in building a new society after liberation. So we have fought tirelessly against it.

Let me take an example from the days after liberation. Immediately after liberation there were quite a few people who had been affected with flunkeyism even amongst those who called themselves communists. In

Seoul at that time, a fellow, Pak Hon Yong by name, claimed that he would make our country a member republic of another country. This had a very bad influence on the south Korean people and greatly hindered the settlement of the reunification question. On hearing his words, some people were afraid that our country was going to be subjugated again to a foreign country. In my speech before the people, therefore, I said that we would build a democratic society of a Korean type, not a Soviet or American type, in the interests of the Korean nation.

When we advanced the policy of agricultural cooperativization in the postwar years, a number of people tried to discredit it. Some asked how we could cooperativize agriculture when our industry had been devastated, claiming that European countries with developed industries had not yet undertaken full-scale agricultural cooperativization. Since flunkeyists used to accept willingly what people from large countries said, I refuted their argument with the words of Lenin. Lenin had said that a communal economy established by a simple merger of peasants' lands and farm implements would be superior to a private economy. So I said that our Party's policy of agricultural cooperativization was in accord with Leninism and was to meet the requirement of our particular situation. I asked them how it could be that agricultural cooperativization after industrialization was the only correct way. In the end, they admitted that our view was correct.

At that time, the circumstances of our peasants, in fact, were such that they were unable to survive unless they united their efforts through cooperativization. The war had devastated agriculture, and the peasants were short of draught cattle and farming implements. This was also true of rich farmers. In this context, we ensured that peasants organized cooperatives on the principle of voluntary membership and ran them by their united efforts. Basically, we Koreans like to pool our efforts and help one another. Traditionally, our people have good customs. For instance, if a neighbor has a wedding, the whole village offers the family contributions and various other kinds of aid, calling on them to congratulate them and pass a pleasant time with them. In the postwar years, there were not many modern farm machines in our country. But we were able to cooperativize agriculture rather smoothly in a short time because life itself urgently demanded it and the peasants supported the cooperative policy actively.

In establishing economic relations with other countries, we have thoroughly rejected flunkeyist tendencies and held fast to an independent stand.

We have not tolerated any relations which could result in our economic dependence on other countries. We have established –and developed economic relations with them on the principle of defending the national economy thoroughly, on the principle of complete equality. In our trade

with developed socialist countries, we have made sure that we give them raw materials they need only when they give us those which we need, and that we buy their machines only on condition that they buy ours. If this principle was not maintained in our economic relations with developed countries when our technology is not yet very highly developed, we would have to keep supplying raw materials to them and buying manufactured goods. This would end in leaving only empty mountains riddled with holes in our country. We cannot hand down such mountains to our posterity, can we?

We worked hard not to be economically subordinated to another country, that is, to be self-supporting in the economy. If a people do not achieve economic independence through the building of an independent national economy, they cannot hope to raise the external authority of their country and to have a say in the international arena. Since we have pursued an independent policy in the sphere of economic construction and built an independent national economy, nobody dare apply pressure on us.

In the past the worship of great powers was most obvious in the field of literature and the arts, and we waged a resolute fight against this.

Some of the writers and artists worshipped European literature and art and produced works which were neither to the liking of the Koreans nor understandable to them. Once there were poets who worshipped Pushkin and musicians who adored Tchaikovsky. In creating an opera, these people patterned it on Italian ones. Flunkeyism was so rampant that some artists drew foreign landscapes instead of our beautiful mountains and rivers. During the Fatherland Liberation War I visited a hospital where I found a picture of a Siberian landscape. It showed a bear crawling about the snow-covered ground under a large tree. So, I severely criticized the people concerned. I told them: "There are many renowned mountains such as Mts. Kumgang and Myohyang. Why did you hang that kind picture instead of a beautiful Korean landscape? What is the good of hanging such a picture in educating our people?"

The Korean people have a brilliant culture and have lived in the beautiful land of three thousand *ri* for a long time. They will live in our beautiful homeland in the future, too. They cannot live in Siberia or in Europe. Therefore, our literature and art should, on all accounts, serve the education of our people in patriotic spirit. Internationalism cannot exist apart from patriotism. He who does not love his own country cannot be true to internationalism. Koreans do not like European artistic works. They do not want to see artistic works which are not to their liking. We do not need works which Koreans do not like and which are not congenial with their national feeling. That is why I defined the literature and art of socialist realism as being national in form and socialist in content.

We conducted the struggle against flunkeyism by means of ideological struggle, theoretical struggle to root out flunkeyist ideas which remained in the minds of people. Through many years of struggle against flunkeyism, we were able to eradicate it completely and hold fast to *Chajusong* in all spheres of the revolution and construction.

In our attempts to solve the question of national reunification, we must strongly oppose the tendency of flunkeyism to rely on foreigners, rather than believing in the strength of our own nation. We must reunify the country independently by the united efforts of the Korean nation.

Secondly, great national unity should be promoted by transcending the differences in ideas, ideals and systems.

The question of our country's reunification is not one of who prevails over whom. It is one of attaining the unity of a nation which has been divided by an outside force and achieving national sovereignty. In order to reunify the country, therefore, it is essential to proceed from endeavors to achieve unity between the north and the south and promote great national unity.

In order to promote this, the north and the south must transcend their ideas and systems and refrain from pursuing hostile policies towards each other.

At present different ideas and systems exist in the two parts of our country. In this situation, the north and the south should not try to impose their ideas and systems upon each other. We do not intend to impose the socialist system and communist ideology on south Korea. Neither should the south Korean authorities insist on "reunification by prevailing over communism" nor demand that we desist from communism. In other words, they should discard their "anticommunist" slogans

The north and the south should discard hostile policies which obstruct unity, and combine their efforts to find common ground. If each side does not endeavor to find common ground but opposes the other side and argues about things of the past in an attempt to justify itself, the gap between the two sides will grow wider and wider and the reunification of the country will be delayed still further. This would be a grave crime against the country and the nation.

In our opinion, it is quite possible to find a common ground if the north and the south work together, basing themselves on a sincere desire for unity. We have worked hard to discover this common ground in order to hasten the country's reunification.

Recently, the south Korean authorities have been talking about "self-help", "self-reliance" and "self-defense." We consider that it is possible to find some common factors here. We think that their "self-help", "self-reliance" and "self-defense" may have some points in common with the independent policies of our Party and the Government of the Republic. The country's reunification will be hastened if the north and the south discover, one by one, what common grounds exist between them and achieve their unity on this basis.

In achieving the great unity of the nation it is important to remove misunderstanding and mistrust between north and south.

Our country has been divided for so long that there are a number of points on which the north and the south differ from each other and misunderstand and mistrust each other. As long as the two sides misunderstand and distrust each other, there cannot be genuine national unity. A family cannot be formed without deep trust between husband and wife. Even in the case of husband and

wife, if they do not trust each other, they cannot live together and, in the long run, they will have to divorce. The north and the south should strive to eliminate mutual misunderstanding and mistrust.

To this end, the authorities and many personages of the two parts of the country should make frequent contact with each other and hold dialogues in good faith. If they get together and discuss any matters frankly and seriously, misunderstanding will be removed and mutual trust will be deepened.

Through our dialogue with you on this occasion, the misunderstanding between the north and the south has already been alleviated to a considerable extent. The dialogue between the north and the south should have been held earlier.

We thought that the south Korean authorities were going to be lackeys of US imperialism and Japanese militarism and sell out the country. But you say that this will never be the case. You also say that the south Korean authorities will neither bring Japanese militarists into south Korea again nor sell out the country as the lackeys of the United States and Japan, and request us over and over again to believe it. So we can believe you and eliminate our past distrust.

The south Korean authorities say that they have had the misconception that we are going to "invade the south" and "communize" south Korea. But we have no intention of doing these things. We have declared on many occasions that we have no intention of "invading the south". We reaffirm this to you today. As for "communization", we do not intend to "communize" south Korea nor could it be "communized" even if we tried to. Therefore, I think that you can now dispel the misunderstanding you have had because of the alleged "invasion of the south" and "communization." If we remove our misunderstanding and deepen trust through contacts and dialogues in this way, we shall be able to achieve great national unity regardless of the differences in ideas and ideals, systems and religious beliefs.

Another important factor in achieving great national unity is that the north and the south should refrain from abusing and slandering each other.

To achieve unity and cooperation, both sides should respect each other rather than resort to abuse and slander. If they continue abusing and slandering each other as they do now, the north and the south will not get on close terms but, instead, the gap will widen. That is why they should first stop abusing and slandering each other.

Achieving economic cooperation between the north and the south is also very important in attaining great national unity.

The northern half of the Republic is rich in natural resources and has a developed heavy industry. South Korea has some foundations of light industry from the past. If the north and the south effect economic cooperation and meet each other's needs, they will be better able to solve immediate economic problems, and develop the national economy rapidly by their own efforts without introducing foreign capital. If the national economy is developed through north-south

cooperation, our nation will be better off than Japan or any other countries that are said to be developed.

The north and the south should advance jointly in external relations, too. Only then will we be able to demonstrate the unity of our nation.

We consider that the north and the south will be able to promote great national unity in spite of the differences in their ideas and systems, political views and religious beliefs, if they all take a patriotic attitude and stand for national reunification. At present, even those countries and nations which have different ideas and systems, are on friendly terms and get along well together. And there is no reason why the differences in ideas and systems should prevent our nation, which is of the same blood, from uniting and cooperating.

Whether one believes in communism, nationalism or capitalism must not be an obstacle to great national unity. We are not opposed to the nationalists and capitalists in south Korea. The majority of the south Korean capitalists are national capitalists. We have been pursuing a policy of protecting national capitalists. For the sake of national reunification, we will unite and cooperate with the people of all backgrounds in south Korea including nationalists and national capitalists.

Thirdly, national reunification should be achieved by peaceful means without resorting to arms.

The north and the south, one and the same nation must not fight against each other. We must reunify the divided country peacefully without fail. If peaceful reunification fails and another war breaks out in Korea our nation will suffer catastrophes.

At present the great powers of the world want to get on well with one another, refraining from quarrelling. Some time ago US President Nixon visited China and said that it would be desirable to abstain from quarrelling with each other and maintain peace for the space of one generation. After inspecting the Great Wall of China, he even said that no barrier should divide the people of the world. In the joint statement of China and the United States published as a result of Nixon's visit to China, the United States approved the five principles of peace which it had so far refused to recognize. It is good that the United States approved these principles. Needless to say, we shall have to wait and see how the Americans will put their words into action. More often than not the imperialists go back on their word. So there is no knowing clearly if Nixon spoke sincerely or not in China.

Commenting on Nixon's trip to China, our *Rodong Sinmun* wrote: "If Nixon's words uttered after inspecting the Great Wall are serious, why does he not make efforts to remove the Military Demarcation Line which runs across the central part of our country and to withdraw the US soldiers who are swaggering about, wearing steel-helmets with the inscribed 'MPT' I think this comment is valid.

Nowadays, the big powers of the world are trying to abstain from quarrelling and get on harmoniously with one another. Then why should one and the same nation fall out with itself?

As the same nation, we must not quarrel among ourselves. We must reunify the country by peaceful means.

If the country is to be reunified peacefully without conflict between the north and the south, it is imperative, first of all, to reduce the armies of both sides. On several occasions, I have said in my open speeches that the armies of the north and the south ought to be reduced considerably.

Reduction of the armies is the way to ease tension between the two sides and to lessen the military burdens. The present military burdens of the two sides are very heavy.

We must work together to remove the Military Demarcation Line which divides our country into north and south.

The danger of war cannot be removed in the present situation when large armed forces of both sides confront each other across the Military Demarcation Line. In such a situation, if the commander of a regiment or a division stationed in the area along this demarcation line opens fire by mistake at a place, both sides will begin to exchange fire, and this could lead to war. This is very dangerous.

If in the future the north and the south give guarantees against the use of armed forces between them through sincere consultation, and put this into practice, their military equipment and personnel deployed in the areas on the Military Demarcation Line will become unnecessary and the line itself can be eliminated.

At present, the north and the south say their armies are for self-defense. However, they should not undertake self-defense against each other. They must work together to defend themselves against foreign invasion.

The defense of our Republic is always meant to oppose foreign aggression against our nation. We will never tolerate the aggression of outside forces against our country and people.

When the US imperialists sent their armed spy ship *Pueblo* into the territorial waters of our Republic, the naval forces of our People's Army captured it. This was a legitimate self-defense measure of our People's Army whose mission is to defend their country. But instead of apologizing to us, the Americans threatened us by bringing large forces including the aircraft carrier *Enterprise* to the East Sea. It was a flagrant infringement of and a grave challenge to our nation's sovereignty. We did not yield to the Americans' threat and pressure. They attempted to start a war by mobilizing large forces, so we made a firm determination to fight against them. Seeing that we did not succumb to their threat and pressure, they desisted from starting a war and fled. Had they unleashed war at that time our nation would have gone through another war and the authorities of the north and the south could not have met and had a peaceful talk like this one today.

If any foreigners invade our land in the future, the north and the south must unite and repulse the invaders. When all the Korean people unite their strength, they will certainly smash any aggressor.

We must eliminate military confrontation and ease tension between the north and the south by our joint efforts, so that we can prevent another war in Korea and achieve the peaceful reunification of the country.

Through the recent talks we have found important common grounds between the north and the south and reached an agreement regarding the most important problems.

The three principles of realizing independent reunification without outside interference, achieving great national unity by transcending differences in ideas, ideals and systems, and reunifying the divided land by peaceful means without recourse to armed force, are the starting point of and the basis for the solution of our reunification question.

You have agreed to solve the reunification question on the three principles, and you say the biggest authorities of south Korea will also agree. So we can say we have reached complete agreement on the three principles of national reunification.

I am very pleased that the three principles of national reunification have been agreed upon between the north and the south in our talks today.

The three principles of national reunification upon which the north and the south agreed through joint consultation are absolutely fair principles which will enable our nation to solve the reunification question in conformity with its aspirations and demand. We must reunify our country on these three principles. You have pledged that you will take them as the basis for your future actions. If you do so, other problems concerning the solution of the reunification question can also be settled successfully and our nation's reunification will be achieved at an early date.

Now that the basic principles of reunification have been agreed upon, we must find concrete ways of putting them into effect to unite the whole nation and reunify our country. We must always proceed from the three principles in seeking 'concrete ways for national reunification. When the north and the south consider the matter carefully and sincerely consult each other on the basis of the three principles of independence, great national unity and peaceful reunification, they will be able to find the successful path towards reunification.

To find the reasonable way towards the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, we have to develop further political consultations between the north and the south and carry on contacts and dialogues more actively.

You have come to Pyongyang first so I should like to send our representatives to Seoul in return. I think that if mutual trust increases and various conditions mature in the process of frequent visits of representatives from the north and the south, summit talks will also become possible.

In the future representatives of the north and the south must exchange frequent visits and hold a great many talks.

The misunderstanding and distrust created between the north and the south during the nearly 30 year-long division after liberation cannot be eliminated through one or two contacts and dialogues. One or two meetings and consultations will not be enough to discover all the concrete ways for the solution of the reunification question. Through these talks we have solved fundamental problems upon which the north and the south misunderstood each other and have found important common grounds, but many problems are yet to be solved to reunify the country. These problems can be solved only through frequent contacts and sincere consultations between representatives of both sides.

In the north-south negotiations and consultations, the points of mutual misunderstanding and all other problems concerning national reunification must be discussed. Any dissenting opinions must be aired frankly for discussion. If they are kept to oneself, the differences cannot be solved. Any misunderstanding, however insignificant, must be discussed openly and settled promptly.

North-south negotiations must proceed from the principle of deepening mutual understanding, finding common points and increasing their unity. Our representatives and yours may advance different views in seeking the path to national reunification. So they may argue for the justness of their own views. But the arguments should always be intended for finding common grounds and achieving unity and reunification, not for division.

I think it reasonable to organize and run a north-south joint commission or the like in order to coordinate north-south relations correctly and successfully solve various problems regarding the reunification of the country.

Coordinating work should be conducted in practice by organizing a joint commission. If only general talks are held, great progress cannot be made in bringing about national unity and reunification.

The joint commission can be co-chaired by persons in high authority appointed respectively by the authorities of the north and the south and be composed of the necessary members. It takes only a little time to fly between Pyongyang and Seoul. So, the commission can be run by you coming over to Pyongyang and our people going to Seoul.

Once the joint commission is formed, there will be many problems to be settled by it. It should quickly discuss and settle various problems arising from the relations between north and south, including the problem of one side refraining from slandering the other side and the problem of preventing military conflicts. At the joint commission one side should not force its will upon the other; problems raised should be discussed seriously until mutual understanding is reached to conform with the purpose of unity.

A direct telephone line may be installed between Pyongyang and Seoul, by which to discuss problems at any time. If even a minor problem which may hamper national reunification or cause misunderstanding between both sides arises, it is necessary to deal with it at once by telephone; talk it over and settle it promptly.

The three principles of national reunification agreed upon this time between north and south serve as a reunification program to be put into effect jointly by the entire Korean nation. I think it

a good idea to make these three principles public, so that the entire Korean people and the world's people will know them.

The publication of the three principles of national reunification is good both for the education of our people and for demonstrating the unity of the Korean nation to the world. If we publish the reunification program agreed upon between north and south, all compatriots at home and abroad will have a consensus of opinion, being aware that we are going to reunify the divided country independently and peacefully on the principle of great national unity, and all sections of the people will derive great encouragement from it. When we publish the joint reunification program of the nation, the world's people will know that the Korean people are a great united people and the foreign forces opposed to our country's reunification will clearly understand that they will never be able to divide the Korean nation permanently, however hard they may try.

As for when and how we should publish the three principles of national reunification, it had better be discussed in the course of the forthcoming dialogue. I think it will do to publish it when an agreement is reached at another meeting of the delegates of both sides after the matter is taken up by the south Korean authorities upon your return to Seoul.

Since you took the trouble to come to Pyongyang, you should stay another day and have talks with our officials.

Your visiting us is a patriotic deed. Man should be a patriot, not a quisling. Man should do things which are beneficial to his country and people even if he lives for only a day. Only such life is glorious and worthwhile.

We can say that the current north-south talks were a success. I hope that you will come to Pyongyang frequently from now on.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 92

[Source: South Korean Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Song Jihei]

Conversation with Kim Il Sung

Date and Time: May 4, 1972 00:15-01:30

Location: Kim Il Sung's Mansion, Mansu Hill, Pyongyang

Participants:

From Seoul

LEE Hurak

JUNG Hongjin

Director of KCIA

Director of Conference Management, Conference Office, Korean Red Cross

From Pyongyang
KIM Il Sung Premier
PAK Seongcheol 2nd Vice Premier
KIM Yeongju Director of Organization and Guidance, Korean Workers' Party
KIM Joong Lin Secretary of Central Committee, Korean Workers' Party
RYU Jang Sik Deputy Director of Organization and Guidance & Director of External Affairs, Central Committee, Korean Workers' Party
KIM Deokhyeon Chief Officer of the Politburo, Central Committee, Korean Workers' Party

South: I learned that the Premier contributed tremendously in the development of a Socialist nation during this visit to Pyongyang.

North: I am very pleased to meet you. It's a great pleasure to meet a distant brother. How is the President?

South: He asked me to deliver his regards. He was slightly injured while taking a walk but he is very healthy in general.

North: The fact that President Park sent you to Pyongyang is a display of his trust in us, coming from his determination for reunification. He made a great decision.

South: That is a great comment. I had an intensive discussion with Director Kim over the issue. As you might have noticed, in the South, there are people who believe we should reunify through the support of the four big powers rather than through our own will. Also, there are people who believe we should reunify by force. President Park and I believe that we must reach reunification through our own will. Moreover, reunification is not a matter for the four big powers to intervene. It is a matter for us to voluntarily decide. That is what President Park intends. I discussed the issue with Director Kim for a long while. There were some disagreements. However, I am not disappointed because we had different opinions. I believe the discussion itself bears significance. Yesterday, Director Kim pointed out a critical aspect. He asked if the South is acting as an agent for the United States and Japan. I assure you that we are not. We believe we should be able to resolve issues ourselves.

North: First of all, I trust that President Park sending Director Lee to Pyongyang stems from an ardent desire for reunification. That is the reason I am delighted to meet you. Of course, there are many misunderstandings and distrust due to our separation for over 20 years. If these misunderstandings and distrust were to be resolved through a few discussions, we wouldn't have been separated in the first place for about 26 years. Nonetheless, all the issues will be resolved through our meetings and discussions.

South: That is very true. That is the reason why I made the visit.

North: That's why I am certain Director Lee is a brave person.

South: That is not true. I came because we must leave a unified motherland as a heritage to our descendants. There were many people who opposed my visit. However, I am confident that we will be able to solve the issues by discussing them on our own. Even if we fail to find a solution for the issues today, our meeting itself is greatly significant. I have no doubt that we will be able to solve the issues eventually.

North: It is of great significance. I am very glad that you visited, Director Lee. You are truly a hero.

South: Thank you for meeting us so late at night.

North: It is my habit to work until late. We also have schedules for tomorrow..... I am very sorry to have the guests working until late. Please accept my apologies. I heard what you mentioned to the Director of Organization and Guidance. Our stance is to be against foreign reliance in the issue of reunification. Above all, this is the common ground that President Park and I have.

South: It cuts to my heart having outsiders intervening in our matters. It's a huge disgrace being unable to resolve our own issues and is greatly humiliating. How would the outsiders view us?

North: That's a great point. That's why you are a daring person.

South: I was impressed by your anti-Japanese struggles described in the opera today and also the Mangyongdae house where you were born. Allow me to tell you, your patriotism is just like my feelings towards the country and it is what brought me here.

North: Please deliver this message to President Park. We agree that we would promote reunification peacefully and independently, without military conflict and foreign intervention. Since we were torn apart for so long, we have many misunderstandings. However, misunderstandings can be easily fixed depending on the intensity of our patriotism. What matters to us is finding commonalities, not arguing over past faults. It is conducting a sin towards our people.

South: I can't agree with you more.

North: That is why our people must come together. A nation should stand together instead of being divided. We should live in peace, not fight against each other, regardless of the great powers surrounding us. Why would people of same nation argue over who's right and wrong? If we are to reunify, we should start from a ground of solidarity. If we pursue solidarity among our people, we can put behind our pasts, misunderstandings and distrust and look beyond the differences in religion. The principle of solidarity is what matters and we must start from there.

South: What you just mentioned is exactly the same as what President Park has in mind. President Park always mentions that the issue of our nation is not something for

foreigners to intervene in. In terms of solving the issue of reunification, he has similar thoughts with the Premier. In order to achieve the goal, I shall discuss with Director Kim to find commonalities in the method.

North: Director Lee would have an idea regarding the methods and it is likely that we have another opinion. We can't expect the ideas will be the same at once [in the first place]. Therefore, we should think about what we can do for the unity of our nation in advance to figuring out the methods. So is the idea of not engaging in military conflicts. Nixon recently visited China and stated that they shouldn't have a military conflict for [at least] a generation. So the Chinese asked, "How would you define a generation?" Nixon answered, "I intended for the remaining 70s, 80s and 90s." In other words, they wish to have no military conflicts for the remaining of the 20th century. Of course, imperialists say so and often don't keep their words. However, a statement is valuable. Not long ago, Japanese journalists asked me how I viewed Nixon's visit to China. I answered, "Take a look at the Joint Statement. The United States just acknowledged the five principles of peace and the five principles of the Bandung Conference, which they had refused for a long time. I read it myself and my assistants who read it also reported to me that the U.S. has recognized the five principles." It means something. So far, the U.S. had refused to recognize the principles but they just did. Then, isn't this all good and not bad? I wrote an editorial regarding the announcement of the Joint Statement. I received many compliments. When Nixon visited the Great Wall, he commented, "a Great Wall should not exist anywhere in the globe and we must live in peace." I think it is a great speech. Coming from a president of a country, it certainly is a great comment. It provides us the freedom to argue, if you don't want the Soviets to build a great wall, why would you divide us with a Military Demarcation Line, wearing hats that read MP. In other words, no one, including Nixon, China and the Soviet Union, is obligated to any decision in the issue of Chosun.

South: That is absolutely true. No one [other than the Koreans] have the right to [make decision in the issue of Korea]. The Premier mentioned, the Capitalists and the Imperialists say and act differently. We are also a Capitalist country. However, our words and actions are the same.

North: What I mentioned were the Imperialists. South Korea is not an Imperialist country, is it?

South: In fact, it is the great powers that created the thirty-eighth parallel. If we unite as one, we are capable of demolishing the thirty-eighth parallel. If we attempt to abolish it with the help from the great powers, we will soon face another barrier.

North: That is correct.

South: Premier, I have come here in order to avoid engaging in a war.

North: That is true. Armed conflict does not resolve any problem. Please convey my message to President Park that I do not wish for an armed confrontation.....

South: I will clearly and accurately report your statements.

North: I don't want any war or any defamation.

South: I spoke over the issue thoroughly with the Director of Organization and Guidance.

North: We can mention virtues a hundred times. We must discuss the issues of our nation in a peaceful manner, without any military conflict. In terms of the methods, it is possible that we have a number of arguments. However, we must argue to resolve the issue, to unite as one.

South: Solidarity without arguments is worthless solidarity.

North: If we argue in order to reach solidarity, we will eventually find a solution.

South: I've gained confidence as I heard you speak. I am confident we will achieve unity.

North: We may have to deal with some adventurous types of people. Please mention this to President Park. What was the incident? The Blue House raid? It was such a regretful incident to President Park. The incident was entirely plotted by the extreme leftists and did not reflect my intent or that of the Party. Back then, we knew nothing about it. I demoted the head of Security Department, Chief of Staff and the Director of Reconnaissance. Now they work somewhere else.

South: I've heard sufficient explanation about the incident.

North: We need to deal with such misunderstanding first of all. Why would I attempt to kill President Park? Communism is not abolished by killing Kim Il Sung.

South: I apologize for interrupting, but I spoke to the Director [Kim] regarding the issue. There are leftist opportunists, rightist opportunists and extreme leftists. It is likewise in the South. There are terrorists who would attack me for sitting with you today. Nevertheless, we must control these people as we proceed.

North: We must mutually restrain such extremists. Please convey this message to President Park.

- We must reach reunification without the help of foreign powers.
- We must reunify in peace, not through a war.
- We must find a starting point that will enable the unity of our people.
- I believe we could find the methods through discussions.

South: There maybe differences in the methods. However, it is insignificant. If we have a common purpose, it will be resolved eventually. We should not have armed conflicts, should not defame each other, and discipline the extremists, as you mentioned. To continue our conversation is to find a solution to the issue, isn't it?

North: The most significant aspect [for our reunification] is to begin with the pursuit of our nation's solidarity, to promote peace instead of conflict, and to be self-determined instead of relying on the foreign powers. Doing so will take care of all of the matters.

South: I'd like to bring up that President Park detests foreign intervention.

North: I would say then the issue is quite ripened. Without foreign intervention and armed conflict, our nation shall reach solidarity. Let's keep other issues such as Communism, Capitalism and so on off the table for now.

South: I believe what you mentioned are the three fundamentals, Premier.

North: Then, the time is ripe as well. President Park must really trust me to have sent you as a representative to the North, don't you agree?

South: I came because I have trust in you, Premier. I would not have come if I didn't. Regarding the methods, please allow me and Director Kim to decide

North: Very well. It is better that we keep it confidential for now. The outsiders often try to interrupt our reunification and they get in our way to reach solidarity.

South: It is exactly the same as what I mentioned to Director Kim. 40~50 million people make the country a powerful nation. About 100 years ago, we had no choice but to cringe to the great powers because we were not strong enough. However, in the future, the great powers of today will cower before us. I clearly mentioned that the great powers wanting our reunification is only a lie they tell on the outside. In fact, they do not wish for it in the inside.

North: The great powers and the Imperialists are keen to divide a nation and split them into many [small groups]. A nation should have the same language and customs. Some people suggested that we reform our writing system after liberation. I opposed the proposition because I was concerned that if we reformed the alphabet when we were not yet reunified, we could split into two nations. I was regarded as a conservative, but I argued that the reform should come after our reunification. A revision of our writing system comes about from rash acts and nearsightedness.

South: I agree with you.

North: We should move onto the path of solidarity rather than falling for others' plots..... We shouldn't depend on foreigners. Listening to Director Lee, it seems President Park and I have complete agreement in thoughts. We must begin with the three principles of national reunification: solidarity, peace, and self-determination.

South: With the three principles as pillars of reunification, we will achieve reunification. President Park has exactly the same thoughts.

North: From now on, we will be able to resolve misunderstandings through conversations and discussions. President Park sending Director Lee to represent him suggests a great trust towards us. I will send the Second Vice Premier with trust towards President Park. The Second Vice Premier is in charge of all the interior affairs. He is well aware of how we function internally..... We need discussion..... I believe it is the best. Although I hear it is a slight injury, I hope President Park recovers soon. Please tell him that I wished the best for his health. From now on, we should trust each other and have heart-to-heart conversations in the future. We shouldn't be uncomfortable because of foreign powers. Since we even have a telephone line now [connecting the South and the North], isn't it delightful that we meet and speak to each other?

South: Director Kim was considering eliminating the telephone line. Please advise him to keep the phone.

North: Since we have the telephone, we would notice if there is any misunderstanding just by talking on the phone.

South: It is my first time meeting with Director Kim since Mr. Kim Deokhyun and Mr. Jung Hongjin have been in charge of communications. Nonetheless, it feels like we have known each other for a long time.

North: Since I've met with Director Lee, if I meet President Park in the future, it will be as if we already have an old acquaintance.

South: It is an honor for us to have Vice Premier Pak visit. However, I'd like to suggest that it is more favorable that Director Kim visits us first and the Vice Premier visits afterwards. It is more of a regular procedure that Director Kim makes a visit before Vice Premier Pak visits.....

North: In fact, Director Kim is so busy that he doesn't even have time for sleep. He is now not feeling well and was unable to meet with Director Lee. However, I urged him to meet [with Director Lee] in person. He fell ill from overwork and he has been working only half-days lately. I am telling you the truth..... He can't deal with tasks that involve a lot of stress.

South: Premier, how about a half-day visit?

North: He is suffering from a neurological disorder. He met with you despite his illness because it was an order from me, the Party and the organization..... I will send him later when he recovers from the illness.

South: I don't agree on Vice Premier Pak making the visit first. Politics engage quite informal aspects and since we began our acquaintances with Director Kim, I believe the standard procedure is to proceed with the older acquaintances and then host Vice Premier Pak. Our relationship was initiated with Director Kim Yeongju anyways.

North: (Kim Yeongju) Isn't it a standard procedure for the Vice Premier to visit before I do?
(Kim Il Sung) Vice Premier Pak is an official I trust as much as my own brother. We have been working together as comrades for about 40 years.

South: I have no doubts that the Premier trusts the Vice Premier even more. Nevertheless, it is just that we began our acquaintances that way.....

North: The most important thing is that we determined not to have armed conflicts. Thus, we shouldn't have military conflicts..... Conflict relates to misunderstanding and lacks principle..... I am confident Director Lee contributed to a great extent. President Park could convey his messages directly through Director Lee, or you could speak to Director Kim or Vice Premier Pak..... We should talk on the phone..... Comrade Mr. Jung should visit us often..... For now, we need to focus on what we must deal with first. We must deal with such issues. I shall open up to Director Lee and discuss whatever issue that comes to my mind.

South: It is the main reason I visited Pyongyang, to meet with you and discuss the issues and to put what you mentioned into action. I'd like to express my gratitude to you for meeting with us so late at night while you are tired.

North: Recently, I had a group of Capitalist journalists crowding around me..... and discussed about the projections for our reunification.

South: Premier, you must not trust journalists. Among them are many who wish to estrange relations between the South and the North. I strongly sense it.

North: I already mentioned that the Imperialists are keen to create division. I told the journalist, "The South is on the same page with the North as they promote independence in politics, economy and defense. Therefore, we are capable of achieving reunification. Do not think our nation is incapable of reaching solidarity. My projection is that we can reach unity. If one attacks the South before we reach unity, we will fight against Japanese militarism. This was not published but [I mentioned that] we must show the world that our nation is strong and is capable of uniting. That way we will be able to convince the people who are against our reunification. There are people in the South who will get in our way towards achieving reunification. It is the same here and there. Nonetheless, we will need measures for reunification. Instead of arguing "you are better" or "I am better," we must announce a united opinion in order to educate the people. We cannot continue educating them differently for around 20 years. We must express some common idea to the world in order to educate our people..... and to let the world know. Regarding the methods and the time, please report them when you return

South: It's a matter of the methods and time. I will discuss the issue with Director Kim.

North: When you return, please deliver my regards to President Park that I wished the best for his health.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 93

[Source: South Korean Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Song Jihei]

Conversation between Park Chung Hee & Pak Seongcheol

Date and Time: May 31, 1972 19:00-19:40

Location: Blue House

Participants:

South

PARK Chung Hee	President
LEE Hurak	Director of KCIA
KIM Chong Ryom	Chief Secretary to the President
KIM Chi Yeol	Deputy Director of KCIA
JUNG Hongjin	Director of Conference Management, Conference Office, Korean Red Cross

North

PAK Seongcheol	2nd Vice Premier
RYU Jang Sik	Deputy Director of Organization and Guidance Department & Director of External Affairs, Worker's Party of Korea Central Committee
KIM Deokhyun	Chief Officer of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, Workers' Party of Korea

H.E.: Director Lee has told me that he received such warm hospitality during his visit to Pyongyang.

PAK: Since Director Lee provided the warmest hospitality and President Park welcomed us, I will speak to you candidly as it comes to my mind as if I were at my own home.

--- Reads through a prepared document ---

I highly appreciate Your Excellency meeting with us today, sparing your valuable time. First of all, we would like to courteously deliver Premier Kim Il Sung's greetings to Your Excellency. The Premier is delighted to hear through the media that the President is recovering from the injury that Your Excellency received while walking. Premier Kim Il Sung is very content with the fact that we recently opened a path to mutual contact and therefore have bright prospectives for accomplishments. He especially welcomed Director Lee Hurak's visit to Pyongyang, mentioning that it is an expression of your trust in us. Our encounter is only at a beginning stage. However, many issues are already resolved through Director Lee's two conversations with the

Premier and also during his two sincere conversations with Director of Organization and Guidance Kim Yeongju.

I assume that Director Lee has reported this to Your Excellency already. During his meetings with Director Lee, Premier Kim Il Sung has mentioned the three principles on less conflict and peaceful reunification of our country, achieved by rejecting foreign influence, resolving our nation's issues with self-determination, rising above the differences in ideology and type of system, and therefore, achieving the solidarity of our people. The three principles the Premier has mentioned originate from his wish to resolve the issues of peaceful reunification through self-determination and through the combined efforts of the South and the North. With regards to the three principles, Director Lee mentioned that President Park has the exact same opinion. I believe our search for common ground on the basic principles in resolving the issue of reunification means that the basis for the success of our conference is prepared. It is gratifying progress for our nation and the future of our people. We believe it is the greatest success accomplished in the Pyongyang conferences held between Director Lee and us.

Director Lee's visit to Pyongyang has resolved long-held misunderstandings between us and contributed greatly in constructing mutual confidence. Through our candid communication, we have learned extensively that there has been a substantial amount of misunderstandings and distrust between us. The most fundamental of all would be that we regarded the South as wanting to be dependent on the United State and Japan, whereas in the South you were concerned that we will invade the South. Nevertheless, Premier Kim Il Sung has assured Director Lee that the North will never invade the South and told him to report to President Park when he returns [to Seoul] that there is no need to be concerned about the matter. Director Lee stated that it is Your Excellency President Park's solid will not to depend on the U.S. and Japan and you desire to solve our issues through self-determination. He assured us that the South would never depend on the U.S. and Japan.

Therefore, we now have the fundamental issues in South-North misunderstandings and distrust resolved. We believe this is a very important achievement. Premier Kim Il Sung mentioned, now that we have agreed on the principle issues of reunification and have our fundamental misunderstandings resolved, the most basic issue is to deepen our trust and promote our nation's grand solidarity. He mentioned, since Your Excellency the President dispatched Director Lee with a trust in us and also since we have found commonalities in principle issues through our conversations, we could work toward our reunification hand-in-hand as fellow countrymen and comrades.

Frankly speaking, I believe the issue of achieving reunification depends on the planning and the determination of the both of you. Even if we wish to reunify, it is impossible without an agreement between the two of you. We are confident that an agreement can be reached if you two met in person, deepened the mutual trust and made casual conversations. We believe we will be able to proceed rapidly with matters once an agreement is reached between the two of you. The Premier sent me [to the South] as a return for Your Excellency's sending of Director Lee to Pyongyang, and commanded me to hear Your Excellency the President's valuable opinion on the methods to reach solidarity among our people and to achieve reunification.

H.E.: It is truly a valuable event that Director Lee visited the North for the first time twenty-seven years after the liberation and met with Premier Kim. I was glad that you had open conversations on many issues during your short visit to Seoul. Also, please accept my gratitude for the warm hospitality you provided for Director Lee during his visit to

Pyongyang. Director Lee has seen the rural and urban community while travelling, and has reported to me that the North is developing actively despite the damages due to the war. Although we have a limited amount of land, when we reunify, we will have a population of fifty million. With the heavy industry the North has developed and the industrial might of the South, combined, there is no great power we should be envious of. Therefore, if the South and the North maintain a [small] portion of standing army, and devote [the rest] to development, we could construct a great nation. In order to do so, we should achieve the ardent desire of all fifty million Koreans for reunification. I am delighted about the agreement on the three basic principles.

I whole-heartedly agree and approve the three principles. Regardless of how much we yearn for reunification, we must not hastily attempt to achieve it through military force. Instead, we must achieve it in a peaceful manner. Although our systems, ideology and world view may be different, we are able to unite as fellow countrymen approaching beyond such differences. “Avoiding foreign reliance” and “self-reliance” are very reasonable thoughts. Although I am not familiar with the current status due to many barriers between us, I thought the North was subjugated to the Soviet Union after the liberation, hearing phrases such as “Stalin” avenue or the “Red Army.” When we look back at our history, our nation was unable to develop through self-determination because people who worshiped the powerful were in control of the country. I assume Premier Kim has this fact cut deep into his heart during his revolution. We also are conscious of this.

I support the idea of “self-determination” to the furthest extent. We can solve the South-North issues one by one, based on the three principles. I also agree with “developing a coordinating committee” [in pursuit of our goals]. When Director Kim on the North side and Director Lee Hurak on the South side look at the agenda more seriously and bring up an agreed solution, I am willing to positively support what is decided. The question is “how do we proceed.” Director Lee has reported to me that the conversations in Pyongyang were held in a harmonious manner. Despite our bitter memories of fighting against each other, it was possible only because our sense of fellow countrymen is stronger. In other words, the blood of fellow countrymen runs thicker than the memory of the past. However, we must recognize the reality separately. The South and the North maintain military preparations and have occasional conflicts with an armistice line in the middle. Furthermore, the spiritual barrier developed between us for twenty-seven years has thickened solidly.

It is nearly impossible to remove this [barrier] in a day. Since our path to conversation is now open thanks to the extensive efforts of Director Kim and Director Lee, it must not be interrupted by hasty decisions. Also we must not make mistakes trying to impatiently remove the solid wall. Even though we are in a hurry, there are orders and procedures in a task. When we have a tall wall in front of us, we need to remove the bricks one by one. We cannot remove the whole wall at once. We must systematically start working on easier matters one by one. It is why patience and effort is required. It may seem tardy. However, it is in fact the fastest way.

I doubt that all issues are resolved through one meeting. The thickened barriers and distrust is not resolved by a word. If we discuss the issues regarding reunification right now, we won't be able to reach any conclusion. We must develop a coordinating committee and deal with such issues one by one. Between two people who will turn a

deaf ear to whatever the other person say, an atmosphere of mutual trust must be gained first. When the issues are discussed under such conditions, then we can expect the issues to be solved. When we discuss serious issues without such conditions, our long-awaited conversation could be disrupted in large part due to the lack of mutual understanding. I completely welcome the three principles. Under the current circumstances [of instability], how can we announce [our relationship] to the public? I've heard Vice Premier Pak has a somewhat different opinion on the methods. It is a little improper to discuss another matter but let's take a war as an example.

How many relatives and families has the war harmed? There are a large number of them in the North but there is also a large number in the South. Why did the war begin? I need not to speak about the obvious reason that the Heaven, the Earth, and you also know. You might argue that you have invaded the South because the South first provoked a conflict..... The core of the distrust is anyhow a war. In addition, how many spies in the armistice line and "guerrillas" have you dispatched? Kim Shin Jo's team got as close as four hundred meters to me to secretly do me harm. I was about to walk into the bedroom and realized [what was happening] when I heard the gunshot. Because of such issues, the distrust the fellow countrymen in the South have is not easily eliminated regardless of our principle agreement.

I believe it is the process to solve such issues first and then move on to discussing the political issues including our reunification later. Vice Premier Pak suggests that we make a public announcement after we've settled on the principle agreement. However, I object to making the announcement at the current point of time. There is more to lose than to gain when you make official announcements. We must set the environment first and then publicly make the announcement. Even if we announce our agreement now, the South Koreans will not believe us. After the announcement, we must proceed with our conferences open to the public. In an open conference, it is rather ineffective for the South and the North to propagate and argue with each other. Please deliver my words to Premier Kim that my opinions are due to the concerns mentioned just before.

PAK: The idea of Your Excellency and the Premier must be uniform.

H.E.: When it is the right environment and right conditions, Premier Kim and I will meet with each other and have an honest conversation. It is not the time yet. There is a pile of unsolved issues as high as a mountain, for instance, the issue of distrust. It is quite difficult to progress significantly in South-North issues even if we attempt to meet now. If we are unable to obtain any achievements, it is better that we don't meet at all. The South is an open society and also a society run by public opinion. As you are well aware, a couple years before when I attempted to normalize relations between Korea and Japan, many student revolutionaries attacked me saying, "President Park is like Lee Wan Yong. He wants to sell the country." The protest against me continued for a year. There are still some people who are against [my decision].

We must eliminate the distrust between the South and the North, and be able to understand each other one by one. You don't understand other people easily. The North argues that you won't force Communism on us. It is the same for us. We shouldn't force the North "to abandon Communism" and you shouldn't force "the South should abandon Capitalism." It is not going to work that way. Rising above such issues, the South-North

issue must be dealt with from a larger perspective as people of the same nation. Reunification is not a matter to rush. I would like to visit Pyongyang and enjoy naengmyun with my family. However, the reality is not as what I desire. Desire and reality are different matters.

PAK: We do not intend to achieve everything at once. We merely mentioned what we have in mind. Nevertheless, what we are suggesting is to organize a committee that will facilitate us to visit [each other] and have intense discussions. A coordinating committee, how shall we deal with this, how about we do it this way, we are telling you what we have in mind. Premier Kim Il Sung also asked me to deliver to Your Excellency the President that “it can’t be achieved at once, [and] the most important is the issue regarding trust and how we will achieve solidarity.”

H.E.: I am not forcing my opinion. I also intend to tell you what I have in mind. For instance, it is an “issue of process.” I hope for swift progress in the Red Cross meetings at Panmunjeom. When the Red Cross meetings, which are held after a quarter century [of separation] go well and the separated families and relatives are able to visit each other crossing the South-North border freely, we will be able to build a foundation for the next steps. When progress in humanitarian the Red Cross meetings lags, it is very difficult to deal with other matters.

PAK: We will soon reach agreement. I believe we will accomplish this in the Red Cross meetings in the near future.

H.E.: The people of the South and the North will be greatly disappointed if the Red Cross meeting is dismissed without reaching an agreement after all the troubles. When we are unable to reach an agreement in even a humanitarian issue, they will be disappointed thinking reunification is a distant reality. We will be able to build a foundation for other issues to be solved when we allow separated families to freely visit each other at least.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 94

[Source: PolA AA, MfAA, C 951/76. Obtained for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer and translated for NKIDP by Karen Riechert]

GDR Embassy to DPRK
Pyongyang, 9 June 1972

Note

On Information from DPRK Deputy Foreign Minister, Comrade Li Man Seok, on 8 June 1972
for the Ambassadors of the European Socialist Countries (except Albania)
(content already reported in telegram of 9 June 1972)

Comrade Lee Manseok had invited us to provide the following collective information. Orally, he informed us extensively about the historic course of the Red Cross Organization talks between the DPRK and South Korea:

They had begun on 20 September 1971 at the initiative of the DPRK in accordance with the DPRK's course of peaceful and independent unification. The South Korean side had to agree to these talks following domestic and external pressure.

During the entire course of talks the South Korean side applied delaying tactics. Yet the patience and perseverance of the DPRK in defense of the justified national interest of the entire Korean people led to a certain interim result.

In order to reach a final agreement on the proposed agenda for substantial content negotiations, the preparatory meetings were interrupted through confidential expert negotiations that took place in the time between 21 February and 5 June 1972. The most recent expert meeting resulted in the following agreed upon agenda for the content negotiations:

1. Research and transmission of addresses and the fate of family members and relatives scattered over the North and the South;
2. Implementation of free visits and free reunions between family members and relatives scattered over the North and the South;
3. Implementation of free postal exchange between family members and relatives scattered over the North and the South;
4. Re-integration of family members and relatives scattered over the North and the South on the base of declarations of free will;
5. Other questions to be resolved on humanitarian grounds.

The expert talks stretched over some time as the South Korean side wanted to propose another course through its delaying tactics. The South Korean side desired to have the first reunion between such family members and relatives in Panmunjeom, or another location to be decided under control of the Red Cross organization. Also the exchange of letters should be conducted under supervision of the Red Cross. The DPRK, however, demanded all along to have free visits and free reunions at a location to be chosen by family members and relatives themselves. During the course of meetings the South Korean side finally ran out of arguments and agreed to the correct argumentation of the DPRK.

With the agreement on a proposal for a joint agenda the confidential expert meetings have now ended. During the next, the 20th, meeting of the preliminary talks scheduled for 16 June 1972 this joint proposal must now be finally confirmed. Those preliminary meetings also have to decide on the composition of delegations and the date for the first meeting of content negotiations, as well as on additional procedural matters.

The DPRK wants to start the content negotiation as soon as possible "to minimize the suffering of the people and to serve as a springboard to unification". The DPRK is expecting further delaying tactics by the South Korean side, but it will continue also in the future to display patience and perseverance. Swift progress on this question now depends entirely on the South Korean positions.

USSR Ambassador Comrade Sudarikov thanked me for this information in the name of the ambassadors present and asked for a continuation of this form of information policy. He wished the Korean comrades the best to achieve their just objectives.

Addendum

Comrade Lee Manseok did not mention that the DPRK also had made concessions during the course of negotiations. In our assessment, this applies in particular to the fact that the term “friends” was eliminated from the original DPRK proposal of “family members, relatives and friends”.

During all our recent conversations, in the Foreign Ministry as well as in the KWP Central Committee department, the Korean comrades showed vivid and concrete interest on how visits are organized between West Germany and the GDR, as well as between West Berlin and the GDR. They asked straightforward whether the same extent of visitor traffic between West Berlin and the GDR is also organized between the GDR and West Germany, and the GDR and West Berlin. I explained the political reasons still advocating against a wide extension of the latter direction of visitor traffic. I expressed our principled and cautious approach on this issue. The Korean comrades always responded that they desire “completely free mutual traffic”. Ambassador Sudarikov told me during a conversation that Kim Il Sung had once used this metaphor: “White is easily colored over red, yet it is much harder to color red on white”.

There is no doubt that the DPRK comrades are harboring certain illusions on the question of unification in general, as well as on the issue of visitor traffic. Obviously we support through our remarks and statements the more realistic DPRK position to the fullest extent and wish for its success.

Henke
Ambassador

CC

Please see back! [page not provided]

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DOCUMENT No. 95

[Source: Pola AA, MfAA, C 951/76. Obtained for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer and translated for NKIDP by Karen Riechert]

GDR Embassy to DPRK
Pyongyang, 4 July 1972

Note

on Information provided by DPRK Deputy Foreign Minister, Comrade Kim Ryeongtaek,
on 3 July 1972 for the Ambassadors and Acting Ambassadors of Poland, Bulgaria,
Czechoslovakia, Mongolia, Romania, Hungary, and the GDR
at 20:40 hours in the DPRK Foreign Ministry

The Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs released important information on the problem of Korean unification. Reading from a written manuscript, he made the following statements:

The problem of unification of the country has to be solved without any interference from outside, without foreign forces, with the forces of the Koreans alone, and in a peaceful manner. Party and government of the DPRK have focused all their efforts in this direction and recently achieved important results through contacts and meetings. He [Kim Ryeongtaek] defined the Red Cross talks in Panmunjeom as unofficial contacts with South Korea on a low level. With the agreement on an agenda their first phase has come to a certain conclusion.

Between 2 and 5 May 1972 Lee Hurak, head of the South Korean intelligence service, visited the DPRK and had talks with Kim Yeongju (Note: brother of Kim Il Sung). Among other things, during his visit he was also received by Kim Il Sung.

From 29 May to 1 June 1972 Pak Seongcheol, and not Kim Yong-ju, visited Seoul and talked to the intelligence chief [Lee Hurak] and Park Chung Hee.

The three principles of unification were instantly agreed upon, and they will be publicized at an appropriate time. Afterwards there was another meeting where a joint declaration was agreed to become public simultaneously in the DPRK and in South Korea on the 4th of July 1972 at 10:00 hours. Yet prior to this publication, the DPRK Deputy Foreign Minister emphasized, the Foreign Ministry wants to inform the ambassadors of the fraternal countries. Then Kim Ryeongtaek provided more details of the joint declaration:

1. The unification of the fatherland is supposed to occur on the basis of the agreed upon three principles:
 - a) The problem must be solved without any interference from outside with the Korean people's own forces;
 - b) Unification must be implemented without any arms involved, it has to be realized in a peaceful manner;
 - c) Notwithstanding all the ideological and other differences of the political systems, national unity, and a great, unified nation, is supposed to be created.
2. An atmosphere of mutual good faith and trust has to be created. Thus all slander and military provocations have to cease in order to exclude a sudden military incursion;
3. There was a complete accordance of opinion that exchanges between North and South Korea shall be opened up on all areas and levels.
4. Both sides will work towards the success of the Red Cross talks.
5. There was an agreement about the installation of a direct phone line between Seoul and Pyongyang to exclude a military attack and to solve all upcoming operational questions.
6. In order to increase speed in implementing the points mentioned above, in particular the unification of the fatherland on the basis of the agreed principles, a committee for

coordination and guidance shall be established with Kim Yeongju and Lee Hurak as chairmen.

7. Both sides are convinced that the points agreed upon reflect the will of the people and shall be realized.

The declaration was signed by Kim Yeongju and Lee Hurak.

Comrade Kim Ryeongtaek continued:

- The agreement became reality since the South Koreans have adopted the correct course of the DPRK government. It is correct since it represents the path to victory.
- The joint agreement can become a turning point for the unification of the fatherland.
- Despite the agreement there are still many issues unresolved, and the struggle for the solution of the problems is complicated.

Deputy Foreign Minister Comrade Kim Ryeongtaek requested to inform our governments as soon as possible about the above-mentioned issues. He voiced the expectation for even stronger support of the struggle of the Korean people for the unification of the country.

Note: On 3 July our Embassy was invited to a press conference for 4 July at 10:00 hours to be held by the 2nd Deputy of the Prime Minister, Pak Seongcheol.

Merten
Embassy Counselor

CC
1x Foreign Ministry, Far East Department
1x Central Committee, Department IV
1x ZID
1x Embassy/Political Department
1x MA Comrade Grünberg

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 96

[Source: PoIA AA, MfAA, C 951/76. Obtained for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer and translated for NKIDP by Karen Riechert]

GDR Embassy to DPRK
Pyongyang, 20 July 1972

Note
on Information from DPRK Deputy Foreign Minister, Comrade Lee Manseok (?),
on 17 July 1972 between 16:40 and 18:00 hours in the Foreign Ministry

The invitation had gone to the ambassadors and acting ambassadors from the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Bulgaria, Mongolia, and Romania. An additional participant was the head of the DPRK Foreign Ministry's 1st Department, Comrade Kim Jaesook.

Comrade Lee Manseok remarked at the beginning he has been tasked with informing the ambassadors and acting ambassadors present about the 4th Plenary Session of the KWP Central Committee and the current situation in Korea after the publication of the "Joint Declaration."

Then Comrade Lee Manseok provided the following information based on a prepared written text:

The KWP 4th plenary was held between 1 and 6 July. Two items to be discussed were on the agenda:

1. The implementation of the party's policy on the peaceful unification of the country after the 3rd Plenary Session and questions how to proceed;
2. Implementation of compulsory 10-grade-schooling

Kim Il Sung spoke on the first issue. He talked about the work of the KWP Central Committee and the lower-level party organizations after the 3rd Plenary Session. Comrade Kim Il Sung gave the assignments for the unification of the fatherland. The plenum unanimously agreed that thanks to Kim Il Sung's correct course major progress has been made in the implementation of measures to unify the country. At the 3rd Plenary, Kim Il Sung provided the further course to unfold a major campaign for the independent and peaceful unification of the country in accordance with the international situation. The DPRK peace offensive was a major blow to U.S. imperialism and the "Nixon Doctrine", as well as to the two-faced policy aiming at inciting "Koreans against Koreans." A peace offensive was warranted to deprive Japanese militarism of any pretext to penetrate South Korea and thus further the division. The South Korean clique despises democracy and conducts a campaign to make life in South Korea more fascist. This DPRK peace offensive aims at denying the South Korean side the option of assistance from third parties, in case the aid by the U.S. and Japan for South Korea is cut off. U.S. imperialism's aggressive policy in Asia will be thwarted. In light of internal dissent, Japanese militarism will no longer be able to assist it [U.S. imperialism]. When the South Korean clique will receive no more aid from the United States and Japan, it will turn to us, the DPRK.

Regarding the Joint Declaration North-South, Comrade Lee Manseok stated the dialogue that had occurred does represent a success in itself. After the milestone speech by Comrade Kim Il Sung on 6 August 1971 the Red Cross talks started. Then meetings on a high level and the Joint Declaration North-South were arranged. The main content of the Joint Declaration resembles in essence the proposals by the KWP and Comrade Kim Il Sung, as summarized in the three principles of the Joint Declaration. These three principles were put forward by Comrade

Kim Il Sung in his meeting with Lee Hurak when he visited us on order of Park Chung Hee. These principles were completely agreed upon by Park Chung Hee. Afterwards Pak Seongcheol traveled to South Korea and was received by Park Chung Hee. There Park Chung Hee reiterated his support for these principles. Both sides agreed to implement a couple of respective measures according to these principles. At the same time, both sides agreed to publish the declaration at an appropriate date and keep this declaration absolutely secret in the meantime.

The declaration was published on the 4th of July. The principles of independence and the peaceful, great, national unification signify in fact a defeat of the South Korean puppets' policy. The South Korean rulers have accepted the DPRK principles, i.e. they have agreed to the proposals for unification. The 4th [KWP] Plenary Session unanimously stated that the course for unification, as taken by Comrade Kim Il Sung, is correct, and the Plenary Session welcomed this correct course of Comrade Kim Il Sung. This is a great event that cleared the path to unification of the country. In light of current negotiations and forthcoming talks, the Plenary Session concluded to increase ideological and political education of the workers and to accelerate socialist build-up in the political, economic, cultural and other fields. Thus the absolute superiority of socialism over capitalism will be proven in order to be able to further pursue the correct course of unification.

Following instructions by Comrade Kim Il Sung, the Plenary Session also agreed to start compulsory 10-grade-schooling and implement it in full by next year. There will also be the introduction of one-year mandatory kindergarten. Preparations for that will already start now. Kindergarten education will aim at preparing the children for school. In fact, all this amounts to an 11-year compulsory schooling. This was, in short, a summary of the main content of the KWP Plenary Session.

Then Comrade Lee Manseok continued to elaborate on developments after the publication of the Joint Declaration:

The situation turned out favorably for the peaceful and independent unification of Korea. The South Korean population unanimously agrees that this declaration is a great event and supports it with joy and enthusiasm. There is much talk among the South Korean people that the Joint Declaration cleared the path to travel, to listen to DPRK radio, to exclaim "Long Live Kim Il Sung," and other things.

Opposition parties and prominent individuals in South Korea protested against the government for resuming direct talks with the North without involvement of the parties. The opposition parties demand to suspend the Anti-Communist-Laws and emergency laws. Also, world opinion comes out positively for the Joint Declaration and the course designed by Comrade Kim Il Sung. Its global resonance confirms to the importance of the Joint Declaration not only for peace in Korea but also for Asia and the world.

These developments create major complications for the ruling circles in South Korea. There are notable differences among the South Korean rulers since the three principles stand in contrast to the policies of South Korea's ruling elites. Lee Hurak said during a press conference that dialogue with the North will expand, that the Anti-Communist-Laws, as well as the State Security Law, will be amended according to real conditions, and there has to be a new order created. He also continued that visitor traffic between societal institutions of both parts of the country must be improved, also for individual visitors and for sports athletes. According to unofficial news, the South Korean authorities want to rename the League for Anti-Communism into a League for Peace. There are also voices in South Korea's Education Ministry to liquidate the anti-communist education system. Yet South Korean Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil stated in

response to questions by South Korean parliamentary deputies that there is no need for changing the Anti-Communist and emergency laws, and that nobody, except the clique, will be able to travel to the North. It would not be allowed to listen to North Korean radio. Thus he turned the declaration on its head.

South Korean Foreign Minister Kim Youngsik does not join this discussion. He is of the opinion that the U.N. and U.S. troops are not foreign forces.

The United States rhetorically welcomes the Joint Declaration, yet on the other hand it supports the puppets and wants to come to their assistance. On 5 July the U.S. State Department declared that, [intra-Korean] negotiations notwithstanding, the modernization of the South Korean army will continue. U.S. forces will not be reduced in size. Unification should occur under U.N. supervision. [Lee Manseok commented:] The Korean people have suffered from division for a long time but now they sit together on one table. The United States wants to torpedo this like pouring cold water on a wedding table. The KWP will fight a persistent struggle to leave the South Korean rulers no room for evasion, and force them also in the future to meetings and comprehensive negotiations. The DPRK will work towards cutting off the South Korean puppets from Japan and the United States, and make sure they receive no more assistance from them whatsoever. Another DPRK focus consists in forcing the United States and Japan to no longer interfere in internal Korean matters. Through active measures, the existing wall between the South and the North must be removed and wide and comprehensive ties established.

Then Comrade Lee Manseok posed the following requests to the present representatives of the socialist countries:

1. It would be desirable that the fraternal socialist countries force the South Korean puppets to resume comprehensive negotiations with us [the DPRK], thereby isolating them consequently in both internal and external respects. It is important that the fraternal socialist countries are not going to win over the South Korean puppets but, in reverse, isolate them even more through persistent and not abating pressure. We expect from all of you to contribute actively and comprehensively to a further isolation of the South Korean puppets. Thus we hold the opinion that, also in the future, you must not maintain any contacts and meetings with the South Korean puppets nor visit South Korea, and not allow South Korean representatives to enter the territories of your countries.
2. It would be desirable if you activate your efforts to support our struggle in international organizations and in international conferences. Based on the principles of equal participation of South and North Korea, we request you to demand identical representation also for North Korea in those international organizations and international conferences where only South Korea is represented. Yet if such demands fail, it is necessary to keep pressure on the Adversary and isolate South Korea, like by unmasking the unfair unilateral representation of South Korea through leaving the meetings halls, or by boycotting the meeting if, for instance, a South Korean representatives takes the microphone.
3. We would like to ask you to continue consequently with unmasking all attempts by the American imperialists and the Japanese militarists to interfere with the independent unification of the country and the internal matters of the Korean people, as well as all attempts to perpetuate the division of the country.

We think that, if we successfully conduct the struggle for unification and the socialist countries as our class brothers will provide us with good support, our struggle will achieve its goal – though this struggle will be complicated and prolonged.

In conclusion, Comrade Lee Manseok expressed thanks to our governments for the previous solidarity and support for the struggle of the Korean people.

Responding to a respective question by the Acting Soviet Ambassador, Comrade Lee Manseok explained that the coordination committee will be of legal character and that its establishment will occur in the near future.

Lee Manseok underlined the following tasks:

- a) Internal task: Strengthening ideological and political education; strengthening socialist build-up in the North to demonstrate Northern superiority over the South.
- b) External task: Following through with a determined struggle, in order not to provide South Korea with pretexts or options to leave the initiated path.
To force the South into comprehensive and broad contacts with the North.
To untie the South from the forces of American imperialism and Japanese militarism, and thus accelerate the unification of the country.

Merten
Acting Ambassador

CC

1x Deputy Foreign Minister Comrade Fischer
1x Comrade Markowski [Central Committee, Department IV]
1x Comrade Schneidewind [Foreign Ministry, Far East Department]
1x Comrade Grunert [Foreign Ministry]
1x Embassy/Comrade Merten

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DOCUMENT No. 97

[Source: Diplomatic Archive, Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sofia. Record 28, File 1705. Pgs 114-123. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Sveta Milusheva]

Information regarding: New developments concerning the unification of Korea and relations between the DPRK and South Korea, August 16 1972

For official use!

Information

The 38th parallel, determined by the world powers as a temporary dividing line of the military activities of the Soviet and American troops, with the goal of accepting the surrender of the 200,000 Japanese army in Korea, after World War II, and especially after the three year Korean War (1950-1953), turned, in fact, into a border between two countries with different societal and political structures, created on the territory of the country in 1943, [countries] which did not recognize each other, and both laying claim to represent the entire Korean population—the DPRK and the Korean Republic, whose governments had placed, and continued to place the issue of reuniting the country as a main task of their internal and foreign political activities.

The position of the South Korean government, declared repeatedly and not changed in the course of almost 20 years, boils down to “reuniting through holding common elections throughout the whole country under the observation of the United Nations.”

The proposals of the DPRK government are diametrically opposed to this position. Their essence is the focus on the solving of the Korean issue “without foreign intervention, independently, on peaceful democratic ground” and “the formation of a united central democratic government through holding of free common elections in the southern and northern parts of the country,” after the withdrawal of all foreign armies from South Korean territory.

Standing on fundamentally different poles, after the three year Korean war between the DPRK and South Korea, all contacts and connection were cut off, and their official positions on the issue of reuniting the country had more of a propagandistic goal, as opposed to tangible value and were mostly aimed at the countries, aiding one or the other side in the examining of the Korean issue in the UN.

During the 60s, the governments of the North and South brought forward an unofficial plan, unachievable in practical terms, towards preparations for the reuniting of the country through military force. The term “in a peaceful way and through democratic means” was deprived of all substance and was used solely as a propagandistic slogan.

The South Korean administration called for a “march toward the North” and “a reuniting through victory over communism,” and in the DPRK one could not “think about a peaceful reuniting with the presence of the aggressive troops of the American imperialism in South Korea and today’s puppets.”/Kim Il Sung—report of the CC of the KWP at the 5th congress of the KWP. /

The main efforts in both parts were aimed at the modernization of the military and the building of solid defense systems, eating up the greater part of the annual budgets of both governments, raising the combative and moral spirit of the soldiers and officers, and the training and arming of “the whole population.”

These mutually irreconcilable policies were accompanied by constant incidents along the line of demarcation, the sending of individuals and groups with the goal of spying, and the constant sustaining of tension on the Korean peninsula.

The past year, 1971, was characterized by certain changes and the appearance of new moments in their positions on the issue of reuniting the country and their mutual relations. Without ceasing their hostile policies, in different statements of officials from the North and the South, a readiness was expressed for establishing direct contacts, organizing meetings and carrying conversations. Of course, these statements in the preliminary stages contained many prerequisites, which at the beginning of the present year formed into two main [ones]:

- The South Korean government to renounce “its orientation towards foreign powers” for the reunification, and

- The DPRK government – “from its plans of achieving reunification through military force.”

The international setting which has changed and the general tendency for reducing tensions in the whole world, the disapproval on the side of the USSR and other socialist countries, including China, finding itself in the process of improving relations with the USA, of the policies for reunification of Korea through military force, and also the presence of American troops in South Korea, compelled the DPRK government to abandon, albeit for the moment, its policy of military adventurism and to raise again as a primary plan the peaceful and democratic way for the reunification of the country, which was imbedded in the foundation of the policies of the “peaceful advance,” conducted by the DPRK’s government during the present year.

While in the proclamation of the Supreme People’s Council of the DPRK to the people of South Korea on April 13, 1971, expressing in 8 points the official position of the government of the DPRK on the issue of the reunification of the country, it is underlined that “we are ready to resolve peacefully the issue of reunifying the country through negotiations between the North and the South, in the event that after the removal of Park Chung Hee’s puppet faction in South Korea, a real people’s rule is established, or a patriotic democratic figure comes to power,” already in Kim Il Sung’s speech on August 6th there is talk of readiness for negotiations, including with Park Chung Hee’s ruling Democratic republican party.

These changes were confirmed by him during the interview with the chief editor of the Japanese newspaper “Asahi Sinbun,” in which it was expressed the DPRK’s readiness also to conduct a political meeting of the parties for a peaceful resolution of the Korean issue and for the simultaneous annulment of the agreements of the DPRK with the USSR and the PRC and of South Korea with the USA and Japan, in regard of removing them as a hindrance on the path to reunification.

In answer to the questions of the correspondents from the newspaper “Yoimuri Sinbun” on January 10 this year, Kim Il Sung proposed the transformation of “the truce agreement in Korea into a peace treaty between the North and the South,” which in fact established the beginning of the policies of “the peaceful advancement” for the reuniting of Korea. Later during the talks that Kim Il Sung had with correspondents from the newspaper “the New York Times” on May 26, it was pointed out that “the differences between the North and the South should not be an obstacle in the realization of national union and the reuniting of the native land.”

Of course, the return to the peaceful way of reuniting the country can be qualified as a tactic move of the DPRK’s government, with which it also aims to convince the USA and the South Korean government of the unsoundness of the fears about “aggression of the North towards the South” so that it might contribute to the hastening of the withdrawal of American troops while waiting for a more suitable time, when the process of carrying out the reunification would not cause international complications.

The changes in the South Korean government position can also be considered tactical.

Facing the “impregnable fortress” and the “armed people” of the DPRK on one side and the “danger” from the withdrawal of the American troops and the cutting off of the American military aid—on the other, the South Korean government was basically forced to find ways of reducing the tension between the two parts, which would give it time and opportunities to finish the process of modernizing the South Korean army, which had fallen behind in comparison with the DPRK—and which was necessary for the maintaining of the military balance on the Korean peninsula after the withdrawal of the American troops from South Korea. It was forced to make

some contacts with the North and to accept, even though just for appearances for now, the “principle of independence” for the reuniting of the country.

At the same time, though, with the goal of straightening the internal regime, at the end of the last year, 1971, a state of national emergency was announced in South Korea, and “a law for emergency measures for the defense of the country” was passed, which gave unlimited powers and opportunities to Park Chung Hee to deal with his inside adversaries and to hold centralized, under his direct watch and leadership, talks with the government and the representatives of the DPRK.

The first contacts between the North and the South were established through the Red Cross organizations during the second half of 1971.

As the South Korean telegraph agencies report, at a press-conference on August 12, 1971, the president of the Red Cross organization of South Korea, Choe Dooseon, proposed a meeting of representatives from the organizations of the Red Cross in the North and South so that “the Korean families which have been separated for the last 20 years” can be helped.

The government of South Korea immediately expressed its full support of the proposal, and “two days later—so did the DPRK.”

After 5 meetings of messengers for mutual exchange of letters, on September 20, 1971 in Panmunjeom, the first round of preliminary negotiations was started.

Right at the very beginning of the conversations between the five-member delegations of the two organizations, the place for the main negotiations was agreed on—alternating between Pyongyang and Seoul. The installation of two direct telephone lines between the two points in Panmunjeom was also agreed upon.

After 19 preliminary meetings the principle agreement of the two parties concerning the agenda of the main negotiations was reached, and was presented to a group of experts for finalizing.

With the conclusion of the experts’ work, which took place behind closed doors, on the 20th round of preliminary talks, the daily agenda of the main negotiations was decided on, which included the following issues:

1. Tracing the addresses and clarifying the fate of the separated members of the families and relatives, and letting them know of this.
2. Establishing a free mutual visit and a free meeting of the families and relatives.
3. Establishment of a free correspondence between the separated members of the families and the relatives.
4. Bringing together the separated families by their own free will and desire.
5. Other issues subject to a humanitarian solution.

At the 23rd round of the negotiations the date of the opening of the main negotiations was agreed on—August 5th this year, and the make up of the two delegations and the accompanying experts were also agreed on. It was decided that the two delegations would be made up of 7 members, headed by the leaders of the organizations of the Red Cross of the two countries or by one of their deputies and [there would be] 70 experts.

At the moment when the conclusion of the preliminary talks was expected, during the 24th round, the DPRK delegation came out with an additional proposal for the invitation and participation during the first two meetings—in Pyongyang and in Seoul, of representatives of the political parties and the public organizations of the North and South, which was met with reserve by the South Korean delegation. [The proposal] made impossible the opening of the negotiations

on the already agreed on date—August 5th, and it was used to pressure the South Korean delegation for the specifications of the place of the first meeting.

The two unsettled issues, along with others, subject to specification, were put forward again for review by a group of experts, who after a couple of meetings were able to achieve a certain amount of agreement, stated in the 25th round of the preliminary negotiations on August 11th this year. It was announced that the first meeting of the main negotiations would take place on August 30th this year in Pyongyang, and the second—in Seoul on September 13th.

In the DPRK as well as in South Korea, the negotiations between representatives of the Red Cross organizations are considered as a first step on the road to reuniting the country.

The second step towards this goal was unexpected to the world public, as well as to the Korean people.

On July 4th this year at 10 o'clock in the morning at a press conferences in Pyongyang and Seoul, as well as in the press and on the radio stations in North and South Korea, a “North-South Joint Communiqué” was announced, the result of visits to the DPRK (2-5 May 1972) of the head of the South Korean CIA, Lee Hurak and his conversations with Kim Yeongju and Kim Il Sung and the visit of Pak Seongcheol to Seoul (29 May-1 June 1972) and his conversations with Lee Hu Rak and Park Chung Hee.

The first point of the agreement determines the three main principles based on which the reunification of the country will be realized, namely:

1. “independently, without the support of foreign powers, without interference from the outside;”
2. “in a peaceful way without the use of armed forces” and
3. “regardless of differences in the ideology, the ideals, and the system.”

In the DPRK the authorship of the above “three principles” is ascribed to Kim Il Sung, who, according to the bulletin of the CC of the Red Cross organization in the DPRK on July 20th this year, “feels a pain in his soul more than anyone, because of the tragic circumstances of the divided country.”

In South Korea, the propaganda qualifies the Joint Proclamation as a result of Park Chung Hee’s “efforts” and policies for a “peaceful and independent reunification” of Korea.

Without a doubt though, is the fact that the elaboration and agreement of the above “principles” are a result of the policies implemented by the governments of the two parts, identical in form, particularly with a heavily nationalistic character, and the concessions and acceptance of the mutual conditions: “the independent principle”—by the South and the “peaceful path”—by the North.

The shared nationalistic features were also underlined by Kim Il Sung in his talk with correspondents from the American newspaper “The New York Times” Harrison Salisbury and John Lee on May 26th this year. He stated that “lately the South Korean leaders, although only in word, talk about “self initiative”, “independence” and “self-defense” and about the desire for the independent reuniting of the country. If this is looked at positively, it can be said that it has something in common with our ideas about independence, self-dependence, and self-defense.”

In reality, in both the DPRK and South Korea an active ideological brainwashing of the population is carried out in the spirit of “*Juche*”/self-dependence, independence and self-defense/, against submission to foreign influence. These nationalistic traits, in practice, have a very controversial character. They are placated when the “ingenuity and greatness” of Kim Il Sung and Park Chung Hee is being proved, accordingly in North and South Korea, and are

completely forgotten when receiving political, military, economic, and other aid from third countries is an issue.

This is confirmed, as well, by the third principle—the achievement of the great national consolidation, “independently from the differences in the ideology, the ideals, and the system,” or as it is underlined in South Korea, on the basis of “the national Juche ideology,” which in fact replaces the class principle with the “national” and foresees joint existence in the ideology.

In the following six separate points of the agreement are included the issues agreed on between the two countries:

- “not to offend or attack one another;”
- “to restrain themselves from armed provocations;”
- “to undertake active measures for the prevention of sudden violent outbreaks;”
- “organizing of a multilateral exchange in different areas;”
- “to collaborate for the Joint Proclamation and the realization of the independent peaceful reuniting;”
- “to support and contribute to the faster, successful conclusion of the negotiations of the Red Cross;”
- “to establish a direct telephone line between Pyongyang and Seoul;”
- “to form a ‘Committee for regulation’ on the question between the North and the South” and others.

Both countries began the fulfillment of the promises taken up through the joint agreement—mainly technical, on the day after it was published.

In the press and on the radio the two countries stopped hurling abuses as Park Chung Hee and Kim Il Sung. Announcements have not appeared concerning armed incidences and breakings of the dividing line.

According to a South Korean radio in Seoul, while still negotiating, an agreement was signed for the establishment of a direct telephone line between the work cabinets of Kim Yeongju and Lee Hurak, which can be used only by them or by three people designated by them, everyday, except on Saturdays and Sundays and holidays.

But there have not yet been seen any real changes in the internal political activities of the two governments in the spirit of the “principles” of the Joint Proclamation, which puts under suspicion their actual value.

The announcement of the mutual visits and the fact of the signing of the agreement were a surprise for the South Korean people as much as for the diplomatic circles in Pyongyang. Already the next day after its announcement though, the newspapers, the radio, and the television shows were full of messages about “the huge interest of the people from the North and South” for its complete approval. The optimism of the Korean people regarding the issue of reuniting the country was also expressed repeatedly by the representatives of the Korean public at their meetings with representatives from different countries.

According to the South Korean agencies, the agreement between the North and the South was met by the South Korean people with great “excitement” as “a sensational piece of news”, with great interest.

The reaction of the oppositionist New Democratic Party was and still is somewhat different, seeing in the Joint Proclamation “a certain amount of danger” for “the isolation of South Korea” and insisting with the South Korean government for “inside reforms” and “the change of all laws on the basis of the principles of reunification,” “revoking the state of national emergency, and reducing the tension on the Korean peninsula with the help of the USA, Japan

the Soviet Union, and China, which would provide the opportunity for “consolidating the power of the country and achieving the reunification independently, through a peaceful way and on democratic principles on the basis of the South Korean social system.”

The changes which have taken place in the relations between the North and the South found a reaction among the world public as well.

The press of the fraternal socialist countries reflected the Agreement and the press conferences of Pak Seongcheol and Lee Hurak held in Pyongyang and Seoul in broad announcements, without taking a specific stance on the agreement.

The Romanian leaders sent a telegram to Kim Il Sung and Choe Yeonggeon, in which they expressed full support of the agreement. George Marshe also sent a telegram to Kim Il Sung.

The reaction of China was the strongest where the press, together with detailed information, published a lot of its own material—articles and commentaries supporting the agreement.

The Joint Proclamation is met with a certain amount of reserve and restraint by the representatives of the GDR and the DRV embassies. The German and Vietnamese comrades see in it elements that are contradictory to the principles of the policies carried out by them concerning relations with the GDR and South Vietnam.

The reaction of the capitalist countries is also different.

The governments of the USA, England and other western countries welcome the agreement and again express their support for the South Korean government.

The Japanese government acted in a more reserved manner.

In spite of the signed Joint Proclamation, the DPRK and South Korean governments continue to express their two different approaches towards review of the Korean issue in the United Nations.

The DPRK insists on the review of the Korean issue at the 27th session of the UN, stemming from the desire for a discussion of the questions concerning the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the South Korean territory and the dismissing of the UN Commission on Korea statement of obligation by the rest of the countries for non-interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people in the process of reuniting Korea and accepting according resolutions.

This position of the DPRK’s government is dictated most of all by its desire for complete change of the interpretation of the Korean issue, from one connected directly to international security, to an issue of purely internal national character whose resolution has to be fulfilled by the Korean people themselves without any foreign intervention.

The South Korean government, on its part, “conducts policies directed towards not allowing the Korean issue to be included in the daily agenda of the 27th session of the UN, considering that “discussing the Korean issue will...escalate the argument around Korea and cause negative impact on the development of the negotiations between the South and North.”

The South Korean government builds its position based on its fear of the possible acceptance of a resolution at the UN session that requires the dismissal of the UN Commission for the Reunification and the Restoration of Korea, and the withdrawal of the American troops from South Korea. In confirmation of such a conclusion are the efforts of the South Korean administration to ensure the continued long term presence of American troops in South Korea which is also proof of its formal attitude toward the “principle” for reuniting Korea “independently, without foreign intervention” imbedded in the Joint Communiqué.

* * *

The changes in the positions of the governments of the DPRK and South Korea on the issue of reuniting the country and in their mutual relationship for the moment are undoubtedly positive move in reduction of the tension on the Korean peninsula and for the peaceful resolution of the Korean Issue, which is met with approval by both the Korean people and by the all of the progressive mankind.

At the same time though, the existing contradictions between the propagandistic nature of the three “principles” for the reunification of Korea which are the base of the Joint Proclamation between the North and the South on one side, and the internal and international actions of the two governments aimed at mutual elimination and absorption—on the other hand, throw some doubt on achieving quick and significant progress in the development of the issue of reuniting Korea and in regarding relations between the two parts.

Prepared by:

/Z. Yanakiev/

Pyongyang, 16 August 1972

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DOCUMENT No. 98

[Source: PoIA AA, MfAA, C 951/76. Obtained for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer and translated for NKIDP by Karen Riechert]

GDR Embassy to DPRK
Pyongyang, 15 September 1972

Note

on Information Provided by Head of 1st Department of DPRK Foreign Ministry,
Comrade Kim Jaesook, about 1st Main Negotiation of Red Cross Committees
from DPRK and South Korea on 12 September 1972

This information was provided to ambassadors and acting ambassadors of several socialist countries (among others Poland, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Mongolia, Hungary, Cuba) simultaneously in territorial departments concerned [in the DRPK Foreign Ministry].

Main elements of the information were as follows:

- The 1st Main Negotiation was a victory for the course of Comrade Kim Il Sung, and a result of the peace offensive by party and government.
- The peace offensive was started last year to create favorable conditions for the realization of South Korean revolution and the unification of the fatherland.

- In his historical speech of 6 August 1971 Kim Il Sung declared the DPRK's willingness to negotiate with all political parties and associations of South Korea, including the Republican Party, in order to launch the peace offensive.
- The DPRK wanted to achieve by this peace offensive: to thwart the Nixon Doctrine which intends to have Asians fight Asians and, in our case, Koreans against Koreans; to counter efforts by the U.S. imperialists to modernize the South Korean puppet army, to further divide Korea and turn South Korea into a military base; to thwart the further penetration of South Korea by the Japanese imperialists; to prevent further negotiations between South Korea and the U.S., respectively between South Korea and Japan, that were to serve the purposes mentioned above. Another objective of the peace offensive is the elimination of fascist repression in South Korea.
- The South Korean puppet regime has attempted, using the pretext of alleged DPRK plans for a "march toward the South", to increase the fascist repression against the South Korean people.
- The DPRK has no intentions whatsoever "to march toward the South". This is supposed to be proven to the South Korean people. At the same time the South Korean government apparatus must be deprived of the pretext to suppress the people and the democratic forces. The growth of revolutionary forces in South Korea ought to be strengthened as soon as possible. In order to achieve this, the repressive measures and anti-communist hysteria by South Korea's reactionary circles must be stopped.
- With its peace offensive, the DPRK wanted "to open the door between North and South" in order to influence the South Korean people in the spirit of the ideas of the DPRK and thus achieve democratization in South Korea.
- The South Korean puppet clique was forced
 - to agree to the proposal of preliminary Red Cross negotiations
 - to sign the joint declaration containing the three principles
 - to agree to hold the 1st Main Negotiation of both Red Cross Delegations in the city of Pyongyang.

On DPRK Positions in Red Cross Negotiations, especially the 1st Main Negotiation:

- The DPRK will do what it can to lead the Red Cross negotiations toward success.
- Through negotiations and the proposed exchange of people's visits between the South and the North a base for the unification of the country ought to be created. It is intended to have meetings between representatives of parties and public associations in addition to the Red Cross delegates. In contrast, the South Korean side wants to limit the Red Cross talks only to the discussion of "humanitarian issues" in order to buy time.

- More than 80 percent of participants in South Korea's Red Cross delegations are members of the intelligence service. They pursue tactics to cheat the world, to support U.S. imperialism's policy of aggression, and to achieve a "victory over communism". Therefore the preliminary negotiations were this tedious, and these intentions also influenced the main negotiation.
- The DPRK proposed to invite to the negotiations members of the respective advisory team which, in the North Korean case, is composed of representatives from various parties and mass organizations. After initial resistance, the South Korean side agreed to form advisory teams according to this composition. The South Koreans insisted neither to enter this agreement in the official documents nor make it public.
- Furthermore, the South Korean side attempted to turn the 1st Main Negotiation into an expert meeting. On this question the DPRK position also prevailed. With a speech given by a member from the South Korean advisory team, the South Korean side itself created the opportunity that representatives from the advisory teams could give speeches during the negotiation.
- A number of receptions and sightseeing visits were arranged for the delegation members. This was reported all over the world, even in the press and broadcasts of South Korea. Thus the South Korean people were informed of the participation of the democratic forces from the North in the 1st Main Negotiation.
- During the entire course of negotiations, the DPRK was eager to solve the entire problem according to the ideas of "*Juche*."
- Meeting a request from the South Korean side, its delegates were given the opportunity to visit Kim Il Sung's birthplace, the "cradle of the revolution". They also visited the new residential quarter in Pyongyang and a primary school. To influence the South Koreans in an "anti-imperialist and national spirit", the delegation was shown the "revolutionary opera" "Sea of Blood" and the movie "The Flower Girl". They also watched a performance by the "Pyongyang Ensemble".

On Successes Achieved Through the 1st Main Negotiation:

- The superiority of the social system in the Northern part of the country, and the desire of its people for peaceful unification, was clearly proven to the South Korean people.
- The attempt by South Korean agencies to influence the DPRK people with phrases about "freedom" was thwarted.
- It worked to tie the Red Cross negotiations closely to questions concerning the unification of the fatherland. This is evident by the fact that South Korea's opposition parties already demand from the Park Chung Hee clique the South Korean advisory team should include representatives from other parties and social organizations.

- The members of the South Korean delegation recognized the political-ideological unity within the Northern population. They rally monolithically around the party and Kim Il Sung as their “leader”.
- Some of them stated, General Kim Il Sung is such a great personality and unprecedented in Korean history.
- The course of the KWP and General Kim Il Sung was acknowledged as correct. One has emphasized that the planned economy of the DPRK is more successful than the “free economy” in the South.
- South Korean delegates could convince themselves [by seeing the North] of the lies spread about the DPRK in Southern coverage.
- The DPRK people displayed a high level of class conscience during the presence of the South Korean delegation. They welcomed the delegation without enthusiasm but friendly, and during encounters they performed very uniformly and consciously.

On further Prospects for Red Cross Negotiations:

- The Red Cross negotiations are a fierce battle between socialism and capitalism.
- The DPRK does not live under the illusion that these negotiations will run without problems. It is completely up to the South how long they will last. The DPRK is interested in their quick conclusion.
- The DPRK will continue its peace offensive. Future Red Cross negotiations will be held once in the DPRK and once in South Korea.
- The South Korean side will certainly do everything to delay negotiations. They fear the economic, political and military strength of the DPRK.
- The Three Principles, as it became clear during the Main Negotiation, are a proper foundation for a peaceful and independent unification of the country.

Comrade Kim [Jaesook] used the opportunity to thank the governments of the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia for their support of the DPRK’s struggle. The DPRK has high expectations for further support on questions of the independent and peaceful unification of the country.

Note: This information was read out from a manuscript and must be considered as uniform DPRK official playbook language, as other conversations held on different levels demonstrate.

Helga Merten
3rd Secretary of Embassy

CC:

1x Foreign Ministry
1x Central Committee, Department IV
1x ZID [Foreign Ministry]
1x Embassy

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 99

[Source: Romanian Foreign Ministry Archive. Obtained for NKIDP by Mircea Munteanu and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

Minutes of Conversation between Nicolae Ceausescu and the economic delegation from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

September 22, 1972

The following comrades took part in the discussions: Ion Gheorghe Maurer, member of the Executive Committee of the Permanent Presidium of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (CC RCP) and president of the Council of Ministers; Ion Patan, deputy member of the Executive Committee of CC RCP, vice-president of the Council of Ministers, president of the Romanian delegation within the intergovernmental advisory commission; Stefan Andrei, secretary of the CC RCP, and Radu Constantinescu, vice-president of the governmental collaboration and economic and technical cooperation commission.

The Korean delegation is composed of the following comrades: Jeong Juntaek, alternate member of the Politburo of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee, vice-premier of the Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, president of the Korean delegation within the intergovernmental advisory commission, dealing with economic and technical relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, head of the economic governmental delegation, Li Giseon, vice-chairman of the committee for foreign economic cooperation Bang Giyeong, deputy minister for foreign trade, and Kang Yeongseop, ambassador of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to Bucharest.

The talks started at 11:30 and they ended at 13:40.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: How are you feeling in Romania?

Comrade Jeong Juntaek: We are grateful for the attention we have received from the party and state leadership of Romania; we are feeling very well. Our beloved leader, comrade Kim Il Sung, is very grateful for the good state of our relations in all respects. I would like to thank you, comrade Maurer, above all, for the warm welcome you offered us. Upon our departure [from Pyongyang], our beloved leader, comrade Kim Il Sung, asked us to give you, comrade Maurer, and all other comrades, his warmest regards.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: I would like to thank you for these warm greetings, to express my satisfaction with the good relations between our countries, between our parties, and to wish you a pleasant stay in Romania.

Comrade Jeong Juntaek: Thank you.

I have a message for you, comrade Ceausescu, from comrade Kim Il Sung. I would like to explain the content of this message to you, but as we are under the constraint of time, our secretary will read a translation provided by the embassy. (The text of the translation is read; it is attached to the minutes of conversation.)

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: I would like to thank you for this message and I would like to ask you to give comrade Kim Il Sung, upon your return to the motherland, a warm greeting on my behalf, on comrade Maurer's behalf, and on behalf of other comrades, and also [give comrade Kim Il Sung] our best wishes.

Comrade Jeong Juntaek: I would like to thank you and assure you that I will send him everything you requested.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: I regret the fact that we couldn't hold the meeting until now, and I understand the problems which comrade Kim Il Sung is currently facing and we hope that we will find the right time to hold this meeting.

Comrade Jeong Juntaek: Upon my departure, comrade Kim Il Sung asked me to inform you in detail about his planned visit to Romania.

As you already know, Comrade Ceausescu, the president of the Supreme People's Assembly, Comrade Choe Yeonggoen is bedridden with a serious illness that prevents him from working. The head of the Organizational Division is not feeling so well so he is also working less. Therefore, Comrade Kim Il Sung is faced with a situation where he has to work extremely hard, on both party and state affairs. As far as the Council of Ministers is concerned, a share of the tasks have been assigned to Comrade Kim Il, but it's again Comrade Kim Il Sung who has to solve a great deal of the problems [of this division]. What is more, his health is also not perfect, and for this reason, his doctors recommended that he not take long trips, such as the one to Romania. In this respect, Comrade Kim Il Sung asked me that, when I meet you, I send you his regrets for not being able to make this trip now. At the same time, he told me he was looking forward to visiting the Socialist Republic of Romania, to meeting you and other members of the party and state leadership.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: I understand that there are various problems; such problems occur all the time; we have problems as well. I would like to wish Comrade Kim Il Sung good health. I hope that his doctors' recommendation is not too serious; doctors tend to exaggerate!

Comrade Jeong Juntaek: We too want it to be an exaggeration made by his doctors.

Comrade Kim Il Sung also asked me to convey his deepest feelings of gratitude to you, to the party and state leadership and to the Romanian government for your full support that you are giving us in our struggle to unify the motherland. The active support we are receiving from

Romania, from the Romanian Communist Party and from the Romanian government is truly important for our struggle. For this reason, once again, I would like to express the gratitude of our leader, Comrade Kim Il Sung, our party and state leadership and our government for this support.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: We are pleased by the initiative taken by Comrade Kim Il Sung, by the Korean party and state leadership in the direction of peaceful reunification of the North and South.

Comrade Jeong Juntaek: Thank you.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: Of course, we appreciated this initiative; we congratulated you on it, as we believe that the approach you adopted is particularly important not only for Korea, but also for international politics. We understand that the international proletarian movement [and] solidarity between socialist countries must be applied in real life in the form of supporting the policy carried out by a party and a government with a view to solving its problems in favorable conditions.

Comrade Jeong Juntaek: Thank you. It is for this reason that we highly value the support we received in the discussion about the reunification of the motherland, from the Romanian Communist Party, from the Romanian people. For this reason, I was tasked by our party and state leadership to offer you and the other members of the party and state leadership in Romania a detailed account of the problems posed by the reunification of the motherland. I am asking for your opinion [on this]. The brief we have for you is rather long and we have translated it in Romanian; in order to save time, we suggest having the secretary of our delegation read it to you in Romanian.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: I agree.

Comrade Jeong Juntaek: Thank you. He will read it in Romanian.

“As instructed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, our party secretary general, I would like to inform you about the most recent measures adopted by the Central Committee of our party regarding the problems raised by the peaceful and independent reunification of our motherland.

First, I will briefly inform you about the activity of our party so far, directed at the reunification of the motherland and then, more concretely, about the latest measures we adopted.

As you know, it is the twentieth anniversary from the end of the war in our country and from the signing of the armistice. Nonetheless, the problem of reunification is not solved to this day. After signing the ceasefire, we adopted a series of measures directed at the issue of reunification of the motherland, and we forwarded a series of equitable and fair proposals to the South. But the puppet government in South Korea did not take these proposals into account and shut its doors [to us].

In the meantime, we exerted a lot of effort to strengthen the revolutionary forces in South Korea. In 1955, we suggested that revolutionary forces in South Korea run peacefully in elections against the clique of Rhee Syngman, to see which one the people prefer. At that time, the Workers' Party could not run in elections, because it was banned and it wasn't strong

enough. Afterwards, the Progressive Party in South Korea restructured itself as a centrist party. The Progressive Party managed to rally a lot of people [to support it]. Above all, a lot of intellectuals joined it.

In 1956, the so-called presidential elections in South Korea took place. Then, the leader of the Progressive Party, Cho Bong Am, launched the motto of peaceful reunification, which reflected the will of the people and thus, he posed a challenge to Rhee Syngman. Cho Bong Am got a lot of votes in this election. He couldn't win because of the retaliation and rigging of votes carried out by American imperialists and by the puppet government in South Korea. There was a 500,000 difference between the votes obtained by the two candidates. Afterwards, the Americans and the puppet government of Rhee Syngman arrested and killed Cho Bong Am, since the peaceful reunification of the motherland was the approach of the Communist Party, and they forcibly dismantled this party. Afterwards, we found out that even the secretary of Cho Bong Am was an American spy.

With the intensification of the struggle of the people of South Korea, the Mass Socialist Party emerged in 1960. This one too was a centrist party. But this party did not have strong relations with the workers and the peasants; on the contrary, it attracted mostly intellectuals. The popular uprising for the overthrow of Rhee Syngman in April 1960 was led, behind the scenes, by the Mass Socialist Party. Rhee Syngman was crushed in battle, but they couldn't take the reins of political power from his hands. Then, the Americans suggested that Chang Myon be "president," as a middle ground solution, so that he promotes so-called democratic governance.

Under the leadership of the Mass Socialist Party, the youth movement gained momentum. The youth and South Korean students joined ranks, mobilized under the motto "let's go to the North, come down Southward, and let's meet at Panmunjeom" and they fought for this motto. Through this motto, they made their voice heard and they asked for the peaceful reunification of the motherland.

In these circumstances, Park Chung Hee organized a military coup on May 16, 1961. The Mass Socialist Party was eventually defeated and dismantled. The leader of this party was thrown in jail, and according to the so-called law of "political brotherhood" some tens of thousands of party members were arrested.

Afterwards, a semi-legal party emerged – the Revolutionary Party for Reunification. Currently, there is this organization in South Korea – the Revolutionary Party for Reunification. Of course, it does not have too many branches; there are regional committees and local committees only in the more important cities. The respective comrades did not keep this all secret; they did not work properly, which led to losses in some organizations, and to the arrest of some cadres. The party committee in Seoul was dismantled; the same thing happened to the party committee in the South Jeolla province.

We have some organizations of our party in South Korea, but because of the intensification of fascist and terrorist governance towards these organizations, they cannot operate in a sustainable manner.

The struggle in South Korea is very hard. In these circumstances, we ask ourselves a very important question: how can we increase and mobilize the revolutionaries and revolutionary organizations in South Korea? We can't wage war in South Korea. We signed a military treaty with the USSR and with the People's Republic of China and South Korea signed one with the United States. If we start a war in South Korea, it can turn into a world war. Up until now, we used a wide range of methods in South Korea, but we have achieved nothing. In these

circumstances, we can't wage war. What should we do? Taking the current situation into account, we thought the best thing to do is to launch a peaceful offensive.

Currently, the New-Democratic Party in South Korea is following a somewhat progressive line. The New-Democratic Party has its branches in [all] regions and districts and it is rather big. According to the Constitution of South Korea, the President cannot be elected for two terms. Park Chung Hee was forced to change the Constitution so that he could be elected several times. Opposition parties in South Korea, including the New-Democratic Party, have fought against the measure to change the Constitution adopted by Park Chung Hee. We tasked our illegal branch in South Korea to support this struggle. Democratic forces in South Korea organized a Popular Advisory Committee for the Defense of Democracy, while young students organized the National Union of Young Students for the Defense of Democracy and thus they fought a consistent campaign [against that decision]. Nonetheless, the Park Chung Hee clique managed to change the Constitution without the consent of opposition parties, during the night, at 3:00 AM, only with the participation of members of Parliament from the Republican Democratic Party. For this reason, the opposition parties in South Korea were forced to run against Park Chung Hee again in the elections.

With a view to supporting the struggle of the people in South Korea and of opposition parties, we convened the Supreme Popular Assembly and we suggested the eight points regarding the reunification of the motherland. Kim Dae-jung became the candidate nominated by the New-Democratic Party and by other opposition parties and started his bid against Park Chung Hee. Of course, we are aware he can't win the elections, but his candidacy gave us the opportunity to measure the real strength of the population in South Korea. In other words, we could tell who and to what extent is supporting the peaceful reunification of the motherland. At the same time, Kim Dae-jung launched the motto "peaceful reunification." He said that if he took power, reunification would be carried out in a peaceful way, the army would be cut down, the army reserves for regional defense would be dismantled, the South Korean army would be withdrawn from South Vietnam, foreign relations will be expanded beyond America and Japan, to include the USSR and the People's Republic of China and other countries. He launched some good mottos. For this reason, he received 70% of the votes in Seoul. The Park Chung Hee clique carried out a series of frauds and did not open the voting booths until a week later, being very worried [about its competitor]. Kim Dae-jung could not win the elections, losing by a margin of 900,000 votes. In South Korea, the army and the police had more than 1 million votes. If Park Chung Hee had not received these votes, he wouldn't have won.

Then the struggle for the election of members of the National Assembly began. After the elections, the New-Democratic Party had 89 seats; the Republican Democratic Party had 113 seats, which meant that the Park Chung Hee clique could not have won more than two thirds of the vote. Since he didn't win more than two thirds, he cannot modify the Constitution again and get elected president for a fourth time. Although Park Chung Hee stood in power, the population in South Korea scored significant victories in the struggle embodied in these elections. The population in South Korea gained the right to freely express its opinion on the matter of peaceful reunification of the motherland. On the occasion of these elections, Park Chung Hee understood that the elements opposing [the way] South Korean society looks now are quite strong, and that the situation became too complicated for him to get elected in the foreseeable future. This was a terrible psychological blow for Park Chung Hee.

While Park Chung Hee was facing this impasse, Comrade Kim Il Sung clearly showed, in his speech on August 6th last year, that we are ready to have contacts at any time with all

political parties, including the Republican Democratic Party, with all social organizations, and with all personalities in South Korea. After our new proposals, the population in South Korea together with other peoples of the world raised their voice to support us. The Park Chung Hee clique participated in the talks between the Red Cross organizations in North and South Korea, being pressed by internal and international public opinion to do so. They thought we wouldn't accept talks on the line of the Red Cross organizations. Putting the issue of political negotiations aside, we agreed to holding talks on the line of the Red Cross organizations, an idea they proposed. They suggested we discuss only the issue of separated families, but we proposed the free circulation of families, relatives and friends between North and South.

Currently, there are 200,000 people on our territory who used to be part of the voluntary army organized during the war, on the territory of South Korea. Most of these people studied in our universities. South Koreans know that we are highly trained in political and economic affairs. When free circulation is enforced, it is detrimental to them, and as a consequence, they refuse this measure. For this reason, we have been pressing for one year to introduce this matter on the negotiations agenda. Eventually, they agreed to enforce the freedom of reciprocal visits. The freedom of circulation and the freedom of visits are one and the same thing.

After talks between Red Cross organizations in the North and the South began, the South Korean population raised its voice more and more, demanding peaceful reunification. Worried by this situation, the Park Chung Hee clique declared a state of national emergency. We always carried out a peaceful offensive, while they always proposed we meet in secret, putting aside the preliminary talks between Red Cross organizations.

They suggested that we contact them only and not other political parties in South Korea. We took those opportunities, however, to establish contacts with other political parties and organizations in South Korea. Worried by this, the Park Chung Hee clique suggested we meet only with them. They proposed a meeting with the head of our Organizational and Coordination Section to be held abroad. We asked why meet abroad, when we have such a beautiful country; [I told them that] if you want to meet us, we could do it in Pyongyang, Kaesong or Wonsan. After our suggestions, they accepted to come to Pyongyang. Afterwards, Lee Hurak, the head of the Central Intelligence Agency in South Korea came to Pyongyang, at the beginning of May this year.

When he met the head of our Organizational and Coordination Section, he said he was tasked by Park Chung Hee to solve some of the frozen problems between us. The head of our Organizational and Coordination Section told him that we were against them because they wanted to invade us, benefiting from the protection of American-Japanese imperialists. The head of the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency replied that they were afraid we would invade them.

The head of our Organizational and Coordination Section told Lee Hurak that even if South Korea was not under the protection of American-Japanese imperialists, we would still not invade them. Communists never attack first. Lee Hurak said that in the future, they will stop serving the interests of American-Japanese imperialists. The head of our Organizational and Coordination Section asked him why they are fighting against their brothers in South Korea. We are not attacking South Korea so why are they retaliating against their brothers?

Afterwards, Lee Hurak asked to meet Comrade Kim Il Sung, the secretary general of our party. Comrade Kim Il Sung received him. Comrade Kim Il Sung told him that since they don't want to invade us, then we should proceed with the peaceful reunification of the motherland. Comrade Kim Il Sung, the secretary general of our party, told him: we are completely

independent. The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China are our allies but they don't interfere with our internal affairs; the Soviet army withdrew a long time ago and the Chinese volunteers, also, were pulled out of our country. But you continue to have American troops; you should do something to have them withdraw.

Moreover, you must resist Japanese militarism, because [if you don't] South Korea will become Japan's colony. He recalled real facts when, in 1897, Japan, faced with a rebellion of the South Korean peasantry, brought its army to South Korea under the pretext of defending the properties of its citizens. Comrade Kim Il Sung told him that if they allow Japanese in South Korea, the same situation can occur. If Japanese militarists enter South Korea, the youth and the South Korean population will fight against them, and we will support them. Lee Hurak swore in front of the president of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Kim Il Sung, that he wouldn't be a traitor neither now nor in the future. Lee Hurak also said that he would legalize the Communist Party and would release political detainees from prisons.

Comrade Kim Il Sung said that when all those promises have been achieved, peaceful reunification would be possible. After creating the confederation between North and South, we would hold general elections. This is the second point of the three principles for the reunification of the motherland. Lee Hurak agreed with this one as well. Then Comrade Kim Il Sung told Lee Hurak: now, there is the difference between regimes – we have a socialist society, while you have a capitalist society. In South Korea you don't have monopolistic capitalists, but you have predatory capitalists. We are against predatory capitalists and reactionaries which are selling our country. We are not against good faith national capitalists. I believe we will defend our socialist society while you will defend your regime. We can't impose a socialist regime on South Korea, but you shouldn't take any measures either to put our regime in jeopardy. The nature of the South Korean regime will be decided by its people. In spite of these regime differences, we are one nation, let's not act against each other's interests; let's reunite our nation, look for things we have in common through cooperation between the North and the South. This is the essence of the second point of our three principles.

Comrade Kim Il Sung said it is very important to proceed with the reunification of our nation so that together we can resist the maneuvers aiming at splitting the Korean nation. By allowing different regimes to exist, they should, above all, unite to achieve independent reunification [sic], to resist the interference of outside forces. We should establish economic and cultural ties. In addition, Comrade Kim Il Sung told him that North Korea can supply South Korea with heavy industry products and raw materials and, in return, it is eager to receive light industry products. Then economic cooperation will be on the right track. Kim Il Sung told him this: you have economic ties with the United States and Japan; why can't you have economic ties with us?

Comrade Kim Il Sung told him that if they agree to the three principles that we proposed— independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity, then we can exchange opinions with a view to peaceful reunification.

Afterwards, on behalf of the head of our Organizational and Coordination Section, Comrade Pak Seongcheol, the second vice-president of the Council of Ministers, went to Seoul, at the end of May. We thus had our first meeting with our enemies after 27 years. For this reason, we decided to tackle simpler problems. We assigned three tasks to Comrade Pak Seongcheol.

First, he was tasked to get Park Chung Hee to agree with the three principles for the reunification of the motherland.

Second, he was tasked to get the South Korean side to agree to the creation of the Committee for Coordination between the North and the South on political, military, economic and cultural problems.

Third, he was tasked to get a joint statement released.

The South Koreans agreed to the three points we proposed.

Having these three tasks in mind, Comrade Pak Seongcheol left for Seoul and met with Lee Hurak and with Park Chung Hee. During the discussions they had there, Park Chung Hee said he supported the three principles proposed by President Kim Il Sung and he agreed to the creation of the Committee for Coordination between the North and the South. He said, nonetheless, that he couldn't agree to release a joint statement; Comrade Pak Seongcheol had a draft of the joint statement with him. Park Chung Hee told Comrade Pak Seongcheol that the internal situation in South Korea was very complicated, while the North is very united. If in Pyongyang, President Kim Il Sung asks for a certain thing, it gets done; while in the South, even if he asks for something, it still doesn't function too well. Park Chung Hee said that the army is the most dangerous element, because the United States is in charge of the South Korean army, and Japanese militarism has penetrated the South Korean army. There are many frictions in the South Korean army. Park Chung Hee said that he preferred that these contacts between the North and the South remain secret from the United States, basically asking us to keep the secret of our contacts. For this reason, they could not agree to a joint statement.

After Comrade Pak Seongcheol came back to Pyongyang, the South Korean side told us that it agreed to release a joint statement. As a consequence, on July 4th we released the joint statement to the public and we exchanged the signed documents. We repeatedly discussed this problem in the Central Committee particularly because it was not an easy matter.

We don't know if these contacts were imposed by the South Koreans, by the Americans or by the Japanese. We do know that other South Korean political groups agreed to meet us, including the Prime-Minister, Kim Jong-pil. But Lee Hurak said he had preferred we had had these contacts only with them and not with others as well, but we didn't give our consent on this matter, and we wanted to meet with other political parties, including the brotherhood in Park Chung Hee's party.

The population in South Korea warmly greeted the release of the joint statement, strengthening the trend in favor of the reunification of the country. With the release of the joint statement, Lee Hurak held a press conference, whose content was not too bad. He made one negative statement. When he was asked by journalists whether he thinks of UN troops as foreign troops, he said no. After the release of the joint statement, the South Korean National Assembly started its session, which gave the opportunity to opposition parties to ask lots of questions, such as, 'Why is it that you can go to North Korea and we can't? The Head of the Central Intelligence Agency went there and we can't go! Why haven't you discussed such important issues with other political parties as well?' Moreover, the opposition parties asked Park Chung Hee to cancel the state of national emergency, as the Communist Party had no plans of invading South Korea, and to order foreign armies to withdraw as they have no business in this country.

Our purpose was that through the joint statement to mobilize the South Korean population even more in the direction we wanted.

Initially, the Americans said they supported the Joint Communiqué, but after a few days, when the trend in favor of reunification of the motherland gained momentum within the South Korean society, they said that the American army will not withdraw from South Korea and it will accelerate its plans to modernize the South Korean army.

Kim Jong-pil started saying gibberish that it was only because of Park Chung Hee that Lee Hurak went to North Korea, while others cannot go there, and that Park Chung Hee can't end the state of national emergency because the Communist Party cannot be trusted and it's unclear what its next move would be.

What upset us the most was the killing of three members of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification; retaliation against this party has increased since the release of the joint statement.

We have thus pointed out for you the most important events that took place since the release of the joint statement. Now I would like to tell you a few things about the major goal that we pursued through our peaceful offensive.

Comrade Kim Il Sung, the Secretary General of our party, said that the goals of our peaceful offensive can be summarized in three points.

First, the South Korean matter cannot be solved only through underground [illegal] struggle. Therefore, the ranks of revolutionary forces must quickly increase, so as to unblock the situation between the North and the South, and democratize South Korean society. There are many people in South Korea who want peaceful reunification. There are many progressive personalities. If we manage to prevent Park Chung Hee from turning the country into a fascist one, then this would lead to strengthening democracy and increasing the ranks of revolutionary forces in South Korea.

Second, [we aim] to expose the devious propaganda of the minority clique in the South, [which claims] that we want to invade the country. The puppet government in South Korea has absolutely no reason to stifle opposition parties and the South Korean people; it has absolutely no right to let South Korea be invaded by the US army and by Japanese militarism.

Third, [we aim] to expose the maneuvers of American imperialism, which came up with the so-called Nixon Doctrine regarding the permanent division of Korea and the continuation of the fighting between Koreans.

Currently, in South Korea, the New-Democratic Party is taking the right steps so as to address a congratulatory speech at the second meeting of the actual talks. This time we arranged things in such a way so as to allow the Republican Democratic Party to organize a reception. In these circumstances, the New-Democratic Party insists on organizing the reception and it is very persistent in this respect.

If we fight properly, we can persuade Park Chung Hee to accept the creation of the confederation. In our view, the creation of the National Supreme Committee is feasible, so as to allow the two social regimes in the North and in the South to exist as they are now. The President of the Committee would be appointed by rotation, on an equitable basis. This is our first principle.

Secondly, if we extend our talks, it is likely that at the next presidential elections, Park Chung Hee is eliminated and the position of president is occupied by the New-Democratic Party. But, to our mind, the New-Democratic Party is heavily penetrated by spies sent by Park Chung Hee, which are doing their best to split the party. In any case, if we intensify our struggle, then it is possible that the next elections are won by the New-Democratic Party. However, this can give rise to a more important problem: we must not provoke the Americans and the Japanese, as they can stage another coup.

There are factionalists within the camp of Kim Jong-pil and Park Chung Hee, and they don't get along so well, yet both of them want to win our hearts. To our mind, they felt that in the foreseeable future, an event will occur, and the international situation will unfold in our favor, and that within Korea, the trends for reunification are gaining momentum.

Currently, all South Korean officials are saving money, stored in banks abroad, such as in the United States or in Japan and so on, which shows that they are all getting ready to leave the country. The most important [objective] is to get the population to ignore Park Chung Hee, and to get him to face even greater difficulties. It is only then that he will listen to what we are saying, to our proposals.

Today, the Park Chung Hee clique is serving nice words on a plate to socialist countries in an attempt to get out of the delicate situation in which they find themselves. In this respect, Park is establishing commercial ties with the so-called 'immoral' states. For this reason, our request is that socialist countries reject his offers, and, on the contrary, threaten him even more. It is only through this effort that South Korea will abolish the state of national emergency and will accept the confederation we suggested.

If democratization in South Korea is achieved, and the activity of all political and social organizations is legalized, then the Revolutionary Party for Reunification will be able to strengthen its ranks even more, and at the same time, strengthen all revolutionary forces. It is only then that we will be able to create a democratic unified government, through free general elections in both the North and the South. We have a long way to go to achieve this.

A particularly important issue at this point in time is the removal of the UN mandate from the American troops deployed in South Korea. This can only be achieved through the struggle of the South Korean people. At the same time, the UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea must be dismantled, as it carries out a yearly report which contains the most appalling propaganda against us. For this reason, we believe that socialist countries must act with a view to dismantling the UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and to remove the UN mandate from the American troops deployed in South Korea. If both problems can't be solved at the same time, then let's solve at least one of them. If the UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea is dismantled and the UN mandate is removed from the American troops deployed in South Korea, then this entire frenzy in South Korea for the United Nations Organization will disappear. To our mind, American troops will immediately leave South Korea. The Americans are not withdrawing because they fear that we will attack the South Koreans or that Park Chung Hee will embark on an adventurous path. Moreover, the US is also afraid of Japanese occupation. At the same time, the US wants to stay in South Korea, to use the South Korean army in South Vietnam.

Currently, the Americans and the South Koreans are doing everything in their powers to prevent the UN from discussing the Korean matter, saying that since the North and the South are finally talking; discussing this matter will become an obstacle in the way of reunification. We are in favor of discussing this matter in the UN forum, thus creating the conditions and eliminating all the obstacles in the way of reunification of the Korean nation by Koreans themselves. We believe we should continue our fight at the UN, even if we lose in the voting process, because we believe it's not a good thing to capitulate in front of your enemies. We are sure that you will vote in our favor at the UN, supporting our fight.

These are the rationale, the scope, and the prospects of the peaceful offensive pursued by our party for the independent reunification of the homeland. Needless to say, this will be a difficult fight, but we will continue fighting in the future with all our firmness to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, a policy designed by our beloved and respected leader, Comrade Kim Il Sung. We are convinced that we will be victorious in our fight.

Once more, we express our conviction that, in the years to come, as you have done it in the past, you will support and actively help our fight for the just cause."

Comrade Jeong Juntaek: Thank you for the attention with which you followed my presentation.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: I would like to thank you for this detailed presentation of problems and efforts relating to the peaceful reunification of Korea. In the spirit of our good relations and of the solidarity that links our parties and our countries, Romania will continue to fully support [you], including at the United Nations.

We agree with your judgment that some actions which may lead to military intervention are not acceptable and should not be pursued, since the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and the United States of America may become involved with dear consequences for the entire world. For this reason, we believe you adopted the right approach: to do anything possible for a peaceful, political solution and we can notice, indeed, that the possibility to do so is there. Of course, since yours is a political struggle, it requires time and effort, but this is the kind of struggle in which the people will win and it will take you to victory. We only want to wish you good luck in this very important political endeavor.

Comrade Jeong Juntaek: Thank you very much for your kind words. We believe the reunification of the motherland can't be achieved in any other way but through a peaceful political struggle. As you said, our struggle for reunification will be a long one, and a very hard one. We regard it as a struggle between socialism and capitalism, between revolution and counter-revolution, between patriots and traitors, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. We regard it as a continuation of very fierce class struggle. The puppet government in South Korea is doing everything in its power so as, together with American and Japanese imperialists, to obtain economic superiority. They are striving to achieve this but they will not manage to. In the 27 years that have passed since the liberation of the country, we took on the path of socialism, and they took on the road that transforms the country into a colony of the United States.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: Like any other struggle, yours too has a series of objectives, but the progress of international politics favors socialism and progressive forces. So your endeavor is unfolding in favorable circumstances. Of course, the struggle may be a long-term one, but results can be achieved more rapidly; it also depends on the efforts of the internal forces and the ones from the South, as well as on the international balance of powers. But we believe the current circumstances are favorable so that through this struggle, positive results are achieved.

As far as Romania's problems are concerned, I will briefly discuss a few issues. Of course, the main objective of the party and of the people is the success of the 5-Year Plan. We organized the National Congress of the party in July this year, when we established new measures to fulfill faster the tasks imposed by this 5-year plan. Currently, we are working on creating the necessary measures, including a supplementary plan, to insure the fulfillment of these tasks in the best conditions [possible]. Therefore, I can tell you that as far as industry is concerned, everything is going well, we already have a surpassing of the 5-Year Plan in the first and a half years, and that there are real conditions to achieve even greater successes in the following years. In agriculture too, in spite of all climate hardships, we will have a good harvest this year, especially the grain harvest. Therefore, there are successes and good prospects in our economy, both in industry and agriculture. I know you are planning on visiting some of our sites; I guess the other comrades told you that I won't talk too much about these topics.

As far as international problems are concerned, it must be noted that compared to our discussion with Comrade Kim Il Sung, we have achieved an improvement in our relations with socialist countries and things are going generally well. Our party is doing everything it can to normalize relations and to have relations as good as possible with all socialist countries and to contribute to the normalization of relations between all socialist countries. At the same time, of course, we are making sure to respect the principles that you already know, from our discussion with Comrade Kim Il Sung, and thus to establish our cooperation efforts on the basis of these principles, of respect for national independence and sovereignty, equality of rights, non-interference in internal affairs. We estimate that the prospects for having success in this respect are good, provided all socialist countries, each for its own, show willingness and do their best to allay and eradicate divergences, to cooperate. In any case, we will behave in this way.

As you already know, since the visit of Comrade Kim Il Sung, there were many changes on the international arena, but they are of the nature that we already discussed. The unfolding of events proves that the influence of socialist countries and of socialism in general, of anti-imperialist forces has increased; [it also proves] that the path to cooperation and détente is gaining momentum on the international arena. Of course, it is again a matter of struggle and establishing new relations on the international arena; if the imperialist principle of use of force and dictate is to be eliminated, then it will be the result of anti-imperialist struggle, which, of course, will be mainly carried out by socialist countries.

Of course, we held in high regard the visit of US President Nixon to the People's Republic of China and the beginning of the rapprochement between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China. The unfolding of events will prove that this is in the interest not only of both countries, but also of all peoples who are in favor of independence, in favor of the principle of full equality of rights. Moreover, we held in high regard the visit of US President Nixon to Moscow, the discussions he had there and in general, and the impact of this visit on the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. In this case too, the unfolding of events will prove that the agreements they reached are addressing the interests of both the two countries and of all other countries which favor independence and the principle of equality between all states.

To our mind, there is still one danger, namely the illusion that international problems can be solved only through contact between these two countries. This impression would pose a great danger to the successful fight against imperialism, to the effort to create new relations on the international arena. We believe that a successful new policy can be achieved only through the intensification of the effort of all socialist countries, of all anti-imperialist forces, through the active participation of all peoples to international affairs, that in any problem, for example, the peaceful reunification of Korea, it is still a matter of class struggle, of anti-imperialist struggle at the international level, which requires an intensification of the efforts of all anti-imperialist forces, above all of socialist countries, of communist and workers' parties, of national liberation movements and all other democratic and anti-imperialist forces.

We are aware that the capitalist world itself is experiencing significant changes, that the dominant position of the United States of America has diminished as the result of the more assertive position adopted by the Common Market, of the Federal Republic of Germany, and of Japan in Asia, which prove to be quite strong competitors for the US and that eventually the more intense this competition and the more emerging forces, the more likely the success of the effort to establish a new international order. This makes it necessary to develop ties and to collaborate with other countries of the world, not only with the states that favor independence,

with developing countries, but also with developed capitalist countries. Therefore, in this context, and starting from these judgments on the changes that have occurred on the international arena, Romania believes it is necessary to intensify the efforts of all socialist countries on the international level, to actively participate in the resolution of great problems which have plighted humanity today, because it is only in this way that we can have the certainty that these solutions will be in the interest of all peoples, in the interest of the cause of peace and cooperation, of equality of rights for all nations.

I don't want to linger on these issues for too long. If you comrades don't mind, we should go eat and then continue some of these discussions over a meal.

Comrade Jeong Juntaek: Thank you very much.

I would like to thank you for your warm welcome, for your presentation of the internal issues that concern you, for talking to us about your foreign policy concerns, as well as for your support for our struggle for the reunification of Korea.

Before leaving, I raise one more issue to your attention: giving you a mandate on one of the problems rose by our party and state leadership to be sent to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

As I already mentioned, the puppet government in South Korea, benefiting from the help of American and Japanese imperialists, is doing its best to strengthen its position, politically, economically and militarily. We are paying a lot of attention to the problem of reunification of the homeland, as we consider the fight for reunification a very serious one, and we are ready and willing to overcome any kind of hardship posed by the enemy. In the 27 years that have passed since the country was liberated, we have scored a number of successes. The lifestyle of our society is very strong and it has a very strong penetrating force within the South Korean population, yet we are not satisfied with the results of our activities in this respect. Comrade Kim Il Sung repeatedly indicated to our party and our people that we must not rely only on the superiority of socialism and on the fact that we have achieved certain successes, but we must do everything possible to correct those mistakes we are still making. He pointed out that even if it's just small mistakes, we must do our best to correct them. Owing to our socialist order, we have solved the main problems related to lifestyle: food, clothing, and housing. Starting with this year, we will introduce mandatory education until the 10th grade. The entire population is relying on free medical insurance. Our society is obviously superior, but in order to prove the superiority of our social order in all aspects, we have a lot to do. For this reason, we want to proceed in such a way so that those visiting our country, meaning those from South Korea visiting our country, come naturally to us and embrace socialism.

Comrade Kim Il Sung showed that we had to build socialism while being confronted with imperialism, that we had significant defense expenses, and for this reason we are facing a lot of hardships lifestyle-wise. For instance, our light industry does not meet the demands of the population. Therefore, Comrade Kim Il Sung said there are smaller problems lingering, which require all our attention if we want to solve them.

For this reason, upon my departure, I was tasked by my government to ask the Romanian Communist Party for help in this respect. Concretely speaking, we would like to import light industry products from you or equipment to mass-produce consumer products, given to us as credit, which we will start paying off only in 1976. We approximated it to be around 50 million ruble, to be paid back in three years after 1976.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: This is a very serious issue as you know; Romania's situation is not very good right now, after several years of draught and then after being blighted by floods. Of course, we will have to discuss this request with the leadership of our party. In any case, consumer goods are impossible for us to supply. If there is anything we can do in terms of equipment, [we will do it], but we need to analyze this problem. In any case, you will be given an answer by the time you leave; the leadership of the party will discuss this.

Comrade Jeong Juntaek: I would like to thank you, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. We are aware that this is a problem whose solution is not an easy one. In any case, even if you helped us with a smaller amount, it would still be important for us.

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DOCUMENT No. 100

[Source: Romanian Foreign Ministry Archives. Obtained for NKIDP by Mircea Munteanu and translated for NKIDP by Eliza Gheorghe]

Bucharest
To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu
General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party
President of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Dear Comrade Ceausescu:

Noting with much satisfaction that the friendship and cooperation between our countries is developing in the right direction in all fields of activity, allow me please, Comrade Ceausescu, to convey to you my comradely greetings.

Currently, the construction of socialism is developing in a sustainable way and we are achieving important successes in our fight for the reunification of the motherland, which is the desire of our entire nation. On July 4th, we published a joint statement.

Concerning the joint declaration of the North and the South, Comrade Jeong Juntaek, deputy member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of our party and vice-president of the Ministers' Cabinet, will tell you and our Romanian comrades, on our mandate, the reason of his visit to Romania.

On the occasion of your visit to our country, as well as on the occasion of the visit of Comrade Emil Bodnaras, in April of this year, you invited me to visit your country. I accepted the invitation happily and I wanted to visit your country, but I could not do it for reasons that deal with our internal affairs. I would like to apologize and I am sure that you and our Romanian comrades will understand. Moreover, I would like to let you know that I will do my best to visit your country when the right moment arises.

Convinced of the development and strengthening of the friendship and cooperation between our people, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and the international proletariat in its struggle against imperialism, I wish you even greater luck in your fight against imperialism, for the defense of the country and in your struggle for building a multilaterally developed socialist society.

Comradely greetings,

Kim Il Sung
Secretary General of the Korean Workers' Party
President of the Ministers' Cabinet in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

September 1972,
Pyongyang

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 101

[Source: PoIA AA, MfAA, C 951/76. Obtained for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer and translated for NKIDP by Karen Riechert.]

GDR Embassy to DPRK
Political Department
Pyongyang, 12 October 1972

Note

On Information Provided by Head of 1st Department of DPRK Foreign Ministry, Comrade Kim Jaesook, [about 2nd Main Negotiation of Red Cross Committees From DPRK and South Korea] on 3 October 1972 during 12:00 and 13:30 Hours

[Further] Participants:
Comrade Shin Taein, Division Chief in Foreign Ministry
Comrade Ri, Translator from Embassy

Based on a written manuscript, Comrade Kim Jaesook read out information about the 2nd Main Negotiation of DPRK and South Korean Red Cross Committees held on 13 September 1972 in Seoul.

He stated the following: The 2nd Main Negotiation was fierce class struggle. Negotiations were only held in the morning of 13 September. Otherwise there were just receptions, meals, and sightseeing for the delegation. The DPRK assigned major importance to this negotiation particularly in political terms. These negotiations were supposed to lay the foundation for the

peaceful unification of the country. The other objective was to reiterate the official DPRK position on an independent and peaceful unification, and communicate this accordingly to the South Korean population. If there were an opportunity, the DPRK delegation would have talked to the South Korean people. However, the South Korean side paid attention to technical issues only and placed just humanitarian issues on the agenda. The DPRK delegation stayed in Seoul for just four days. During these days the delegation had to conduct both a policy of offense and defense.

It all started with the DPRK delegation having to fight for a decent meeting room for the negotiations. The South Korean side had not properly prepared the meeting room. Though it was a newly built room, it was very primitive. Thus another location had to be selected for the negotiations. Also, the DPRK delegation noted that the South Koreans do not entertain a sovereign notion of the nation. At the entrance to the meeting room there were the flags of the United States, Japan and Taiwan on display. Our side could not accept that, as it is a blatant disregard of the nation. Thus we demanded to remove those flags immediately. If the demand would not have been met, the delegation would not have been able to participate in the negotiations. As there were many South Koreans hanging around the entrance, the South Korean side had no other choice than to meet our demand. The South Korean people who observed this argument stated the North Korean side was right in complaining. Thus the South Korean plot was thwarted.

Our delegation also fought a tough struggle for the participation of representatives from parties, organizations and the observer group in the negotiations. The South Koreans threw tantrums and did not want to allow our representatives giving their speeches: Only one representative ought to give a speech, since during the 1st Main Negotiation in Seoul also only one representative of the South Korean observer group was allowed to make a statement. Yet in Seoul the South Korean side now had to agree on a compromise: Eventually, the North Korean side could field two speakers (the head of the Education Department in the KWP Central Committee and the Deputy Chairman of the Japanese Koreans) and the South Korean side's three representatives (the Chairman of the South Korean Red Cross Committee, the [female] Director of the University in Seoul, and a member of the observer delegation).

In the speeches we outlined our course for unification, as previously sketched by the leader Kim Il Sung. The South Korean side gave long speeches on humanitarian issues only and did not talk about unification. Thus it expressed that it actually does not want unification.

Difficulties also came up when the protocol of the 2nd Main Negotiation was to be finalized. It was agreed to hold future negotiations in turn in Pyongyang and Seoul. Initially this proposal had always been rejected [by South Korea]. The South Korean side proposed to establish a small committee and open a liaison office in Panmunjeom. They wanted to have future negotiations to be held in Panmunjeom only. The South Koreans arrived at this position after they had been in Pyongyang and saw everything with their own eyes. They wanted to spread their free democracy there and had to realize that our people were prepared for that.

In contrast, when our delegation travels to Seoul it is a demonstration to the South Korean people of what we are fighting for. Now the South Koreans are afraid to have negotiations in Pyongyang and Seoul. Yet they had to agree to our proposal. The next negotiations will be on 24 October in Pyongyang and on 29 November in Seoul.

Lee Hurak, who led the talks with our side, the Mayor of Seoul, and others held receptions for our delegation. Representatives from opposition parties, other parties etc. were

also invited. As there is nothing worth to see in Seoul, the so-called tourist program only included cultural sites outside of the city.

With the 2nd Main Negotiation we have achieved a major political victory. The way our delegation asserted itself has provided hope to the South Korean people. The people welcomed our delegation with feelings for the nation, and as a delegation sent by the venerable and beloved leader Kim Il Sung to pursue a mission of uniting the country. The South Korean government told the people not to receive our delegation. But things developed differently. The people stood along the streets and heartily welcomed our delegation with tears in their eyes. Over one million residents of Seoul welcomed our delegation. The South Korean people love and honor our venerable and beloved leader Kim Il Sung. They always carry his name in their hearts as one of a legendary hero. The South Korean people demonstrated that their whole heart belongs to the venerable and beloved leader. Though there was a lot of police in the streets, the people still succeeded in asking our delegation how the venerable and beloved leader Kim Il Sung is doing. They told our delegation: We are certain to live together with the leader soon. The people said: Kim Il Sung is really an eminent leader, he is our leader. Others stated they hoped and wished to celebrate together with the venerable and beloved leader Kim Il Sung his 60th birthday in Seoul. The people said they are longing for unification.

Our delegation demonstrated through its visit to Seoul the superiority of socialism and our republic. It disproved South Korea's previous propaganda according to which communists are terrible people and there is no freedom in the Northern part of Korea. The South Korean minders of our delegation recognized that the people from the North are moral and true people, that the communists are new humans.

Our delegation unmasked the rottenness in South Korea. The South Korean people were excited about the society in the North and asked our delegation members whether there could really exist such an eminent society.

Our delegation achieved a great victory, and it stated our firm position to unite our country without foreign interference. Especially the South Korean intelligentsia is energetically supportive of our position. We have to stop the servility towards the big powers and unite our nation independently. Obviously those who are very rich do not agree with this. The South Korean people pursue unification and expressed that they are placing the cause of unification in our hands. Also in the opposition party our position did resonate big.

Our delegation had to work in difficult conditions. In Pyongyang we had provided cars to the South Korean journalists. In Seoul our journalists received a bus where doors were always closed and the windows were tinted.

In future Red Cross Negotiations we will continue to fight a fierce struggle of offense and defense. Though the South Korean side will attempt to delay further negotiations, the overall situation will become more favorable to us, and thus they will not succeed. We will continue to negotiate and to fight. We are counting on the support of the fraternal countries in unmasking the South Korean doings.

I thanked Comrade Kim for the information and asked which concrete items will be on the agenda for the next Main Negotiation on 24 October. Here Comrade Kim remarked it will primarily be concerned with technical questions. The 3rd Main Negotiation will not be public but conducted behind closed doors. He himself does not know more details.

In addition I inquired whether, in context of the establishment of the Regulation Committee, there have been decisions and agreements with the South Koreans, for instance, on

economic and cultural matters. Comrade Kim responded that he is not aware of details here. To his mind, they are still working on the establishment of this regulatory committee.

Note: This briefing concerning the 2nd Main Negotiation was also provided to other embassies by the Korean Foreign Ministry on the basis of the same written manuscript.

[... Bilateral Issues:

- Postal Agreement GDR – DPRK
- GDR-Zambian issues during visit of Zambian delegation to DPRK]

Merten
Embassy Counselor

CC:

1x Foreign Ministry, Far Eastern Department
1x Central Committee, Department IV
1x ZID [Foreign Ministry]
1x Embassy, Political Department

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 102

[Source: Diplomatic Archive, Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sofia. Record 28, File 1717. Pgs 33-40. Translated by Sveta Milusheva]

Information concerning: 1. The first conference of the co-chairs of the Committee on regulation of the issues between North and South Korea, which was held on October 12th in the Panmunjeom area, and 2. The announcement of “martial law” in South Korea on the 17th this month. October 19, 1972

“For internal use”

Today, the ambassadors of the People’s Republic of Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Mongolia, as well as the acting [ambassadors] of Poland and the GDR were summoned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Kim Jaebeon, read the information, printed in advance in Korean, concerning the issues stated above.

He stated the following: “On October 12th, the first conference of the representatives of the Committee on regulation of the issues between the North and the South was held, and on the 17th this month, Park Chung Hee declared martial law in South Korea. I asked for the present meeting with you in order to inform you on these issues.

First, I would like to discuss the issue of the first conference of the representatives of the Committee on regulation of the issues between the North and the South.

It was held in Panmunjeom by South Korean request. From our side, because of Comrade Kim Yeongju’s health condition, the second vice chair of the Cabinet of the Ministries, Comrade

Pak Seongcheol participated, and from South Korea—the Chief of the Central Intelligence Bureau—Lee Hurak.

The conference took place three months after the publication of the Joint Proclamation of the North and the South on July 4th this year.

The Joint proclamation, based on the three principles of the beloved and respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, found warm response and support amongst the political parties and people of South Korea. Their aspirations for a peaceful reuniting of the motherland and the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, for the seizure of democratic rights and freedoms, grew stronger.

After the first, and especially after the second, round of the main negotiations between the delegations of the Red Cross, the feelings of respect towards the beloved and respected leader, Comrade Kim Il Sung, grew amongst the South Korean people. Kim Il Sung's "Juche" ideas and the successes achieved in the socialist construction of the Northern part of the Republic spread quickly amongst the South Korean population.

These changes in South Korea's situation caused dismay and confusion among the American imperialists and the Japanese militarists.

The South Korean reactionaries, resorting to hypocrisy, in the conditions of the established relations between the North and the South, were the first to begin the campaign against us, speeding up the military preparations and increasing their anticommunist activities.

At the first conference we were able to expose this campaign, insisting on ending the attacks toward the DPRK and the anticommunist activities, in the conditions of the negotiations being carried out between us.

As we have already stated more than once, the dialogue between the North and the South and the struggle for the reunification of the motherland represents a struggle between patriots and traitors, a struggle between internationalism and servility, between progressivism and reactionism, between socialism and imperialism. In so far as the struggle for a peaceful reunification of the motherland is a class struggle, we sharply denounce the essence of the South Korean reaction.

At the conference, right after the greetings, the business work began with a speech by our representative—Comrade Pak Seongcheol.

In his speech he criticized sharply the fact that South Korea has not adhered to the obligations which it assumed with the Joint Proclamation between the North and the South, in the period from July 4th until this very moment.

By pressing the other side, we exposed many facts pointing at when and what Park Chung Hee, Kim Jong Pil, and Lee Hurak have said separately. Our criticism at first did not please the South Korean representatives. Two questions were put forth by our side:

- Will we walk together towards a peaceful reunification, or will we talk against communism? If you want us to walk together, you need to give up your anticommunist campaign.

- If you do not give up the anticommunism, is there any sense for us to continue the dialogue.

Since our criticism was sharp and effective, Lee Hurak agreed with it.

He stated that he was doing everything possible to abide by the principles of the Joint Proclamation, that he ordered the ending of the anticommunist campaign, but because of the extremely complicated system, it was hard for him to control the execution [of that order].

In answer, Comrade Pak Seongcheol stated:

-“Fine, but here the issue is not what the common people say. This is being said by leaders such as Park Chung Hee and Kim Jong Pil. How should we understand this?” To which Lee Hurak answered: that “he held no blame.”

- “You say that the UN is not a foreign power. Why do you think that?” asked Comrade Pak Seongcheol.

- “Yes, the UN is not a foreign power!” – Lee Hurak emphasized again.

- “That means” – said Comrade Pak Seongcheol – “that the American troops in South Korea standing under the UN flag are also not a foreign power. But the UN regulations forbid the placing of troops in foreign territories.”

- “If the issue is put forth so” – said Lee Hurak – “you are right.”

During the talks the following fact was cited by us:

“On the day of the 15th anniversary since the creation of the puppet army of South Korea, Park Chung Hee stated that he would fight for the reunification of the country on the basis of the free democracy. We take this to mean that this is trying to impress on us that the reunification has to occur on the basis of the imperialist order. Therefore, how should we interpret the principle “independent from differences in ideology, ideals and system? Doesn’t this mean anticommunism?”

To what was stated above, Lee Hurak answered that when he was writing Park Chung Hee’s speeches, he always excluded the words “on the basis of the free democracy” and that that was written by the journalists.

Wanting to transfer the blame from himself to others, he emphasized that he did not think this way.

Right away we criticized such activities, pointing out that it did not matter who wrote the speech, the essence of the issue is made up of the fact that Park Chung Hee says it.

“How can the dialogue between the North and the South continue,” asked Comrade Pak Sung Cher, “if your leaders make such statements!”

Lee Hurak accepted our criticism, admitted his mistakes concerning the issues stated above, that “the UN was not a foreign power” and about the anticommunist statements, but he underlined that he was not responsible for Kim Jong Pil’s words.

Because Lee Hurak admitted his mistakes, we did not put forth other questions.

The South Korean side put forth the issue concerning the make up of the Committee on the regulation, to which we answered that we had already given our proposals, but if the South Korean side had some comments, we are ready to discuss them.

The South Koreans proposed that the Committee be made up of 5 representatives from each country. We stated that we had nothing against such a proposal.

At the conference it was agreed that the specific issues on the make up of the Committee on the regulation would be examined at the following conferences.

During the talks, Lee Hurak put forth the question “what is the system of confederation?” meaning, Comrade Kim Il Sung’s explanations.

Comrade Pak Seongcheol answered that “the confederation foresees the creation of a high-ranking national committee made up of representatives from the North and the South for the preservation of the order that is in place in the two parts, which would act together on foreign and internal issues.”

“If the make up of the Committee on regulation is expanded,” asked Lee Hurak, “can it not lead to a confederation?”

To this question we answered that in the future this is possible, but the issues connected with the will of the masses need to be resolved on a democratic basis.

At the end, Lee Hurak stated that everything was clear to him and he asked that in the future we trust him, that we do not lead a war between us, that we exist together and that we develop the contacts for a peaceful reunification of the country.

At the conference it was agreed also that the following meetings of the leaders take place in Pyongyang and Seoul. It was decided that the second conference would take place on November 2nd in Pyongyang and the third—after November 20th this year in Seoul.

With this ended the first conference of the representatives of the Committee on the regulation of issues between the North and the South.

But on October 15th, through the direct telephone line, the South Korean side proposed a meeting between representatives for communication on October 16th.

Our representative met with the deputy representative of South Korea. As requested by Lee Hurak, the South Korean representative asked that the following be brought to the attention of Comrade Kim Yeongju:

“The reunification of the country has to occur at all costs during the leadership of Kim Il Sung and during the power of Park Chung Hee, meaning during the 70s.”

“It was also underlined that during the first conference of the representatives, South Korean [representatives] did not understand well the critique expressed by us, but while listening to the recording of the conference, they understood everything, and they ascertained their rightness and reached the conclusion that on their part they need to undertake some measures.

Our representative was interested in what these “measures” were.

Then the South Korean representative said that Park Chung Hee and Lee Hurak desire the reunification of the country, but they had many opponents. That is why some measures were necessary for the establishment of order in the country. [He] stated that on October 17th a statement would be published, and he asked that it be listened to carefully on our part. He also asked, if we had comments on it, to present them to South Korea.

On October 17th, one hour before the publication of this statement, they informed us from Seoul by telephone that at 19 o'clock an “Emergency Statement” from Park Chung Hee would be released on the radio, and they asked that we listen to it. At the end they proposed a new meeting of the representatives for the communication between the North and South on October 18th.

With relation to the content of the statement, I think that the comrade ambassadors are acquainted with it and I will not pause.

The meeting proposed by South Korea took place yesterday—October 18th. The South Korean representative expressed Lee Hurak's request that the following be released to Comrade Kim Yeongju:

“At the beginning of the 70s in the ambient setting of Korea some changes took place. The bipolar relations between the USSR and the USA changed. At the same time, changes took place also in relations between the USA, USSR, PRC and Japan. With these circumstances we consider that the national issue needs to be resolved independently, without the support of foreign powers. In this spirit was the Joint Proclamation between the North and the South on July 4th this year.”

After the publication of the proclamation, in South Korea many groups sprung up, as opponents of its principles. Many of them are accusing us of breaking the Constitution. In spite of this, we wanted to adhere to the proclamation's obligations, but because of the strong

opposition, we did not have the chance to fully control the situation. As a result of this we received Kim Yeongju's critique. The present "State of National Emergency Statement" has as its goal—the modification of the Constitution.

The current Constitution was created on the basis of the bipolar system, in anticommunist spirit, without considering the issue of reunifying the country."

The South Korean representative stated that for the "Emergency Statement" the USA and Japan were informed just two hours before its proclamation. They opposed it.

The South Korean representative also emphasized that in South Korea they have decided to institute the "Juche" system, in the spirit of the national self-determination, raised by the Prime Minister Kim Il Sung.

Although the USA and Japan were against the principles of independence in South Korea, they desired the creation of a new system.

After the South Korean representative was carefully listened to, our side put forth the question: Why was a state of emergency and martial law announced, why are you going towards a new system?

It was answered that due to the strong opposition, the internal issues in South Korea cannot be resolved along the normal path. That is why the South Korean leaders were forced to establish martial law in order to modify the Constitution without chaos and disorder in the country. He also added that in Park Chung Hee's "State of National Emergency Statement" there were no points that affected or offended the DPRK. Again a request was made for expressing of our comments and proposals on the statement. It was underlined that there was a wide range of reactions in South Korea towards the statement and martial law. The right wing said that "these measures are aimed towards us," others asked "where this statement is heading," yet others [said]—"don't these measures represent a retreat from the dialogue between the North and the South?" others said that "this is a procommunist coup," and others [asked] "doesn't this statement lead along the path towards right wing?" etc.

The South Korean representative stated that in the new proposed Constitution a clear fixation on the issues of the reunification of the country and the creation of a national assembly is expected, which would be able to guarantee the peaceful dialogue between the North and the South. He underlined that with the modification of the Constitution they aimed to "lead talks between the North and the South based on law." "The changes of the Constitution, he stated, do not mean the repudiation of talks, on the contrary—their energizing."

He again requested, as ordered by Lee Hurak, that everything said by him be reported to Kim Yeongju.

The political committee of the CC of the KWP examined this issue, analyzed it, but has not yet come out with a final decision.

According to the facts at our disposal, it can be said that the situation in South Korea is very complicated.

After the announcement of the Joint Proclamation between the North and the South on July 4th this year, the pursuit of a peaceful reunification quickly grew in South Korea.

The activity of the oppositionist parties became energized. Many activists appeared, raising their voices for reunification.

This brings dismay and scares the leading South Korean circles.

According to facts which we have, after the Joint Proclamation, about 90 people, actively devoted to reunification, were arrested in South Korea.

There's no question that the South Korean leaders are reactionaries, and that the South Korean economy goes through big hardships. The medium and small businesses are ruined. The yields in agriculture are also bad.

Currently, Park Chung Hee is putting into practice the movement "Se Maul" /New village/, which greatly resembles Chiang Kai Shek's old reforms in China and it has nothing in common with the movement in our country for the construction of cultural villages.

In South Korea the villagers are forced to build new villages. This leads to the springing up of new kulaks and corruption.

In this setting more and more desire and hope grow for a socialist order, sanctioned in the North part of the Republic. The population is very happy and actively struggles for the reunification.

The student's spirits rose. Until the publication of the Joint Proclamation, the student movement was at a standstill, but later it became active.

Park Chung Hee is most afraid of the actions of the masses and the students. And on this basis, after the establishment of martial law in the country, the activities of the parties were outlawed and the institutes were closed.

Why did Park Chung Hee announce martial law in the country?

We look at his goals in two instances.

The first instance can be reduced to the following: Park Chung Hee thinks that in the circumstances of established political contacts and the holding of political discussions, the emergence of other political parties is possible, which would also ask to take part in the dialogue between the North and the South. In the present moment the proportion in the talks is 1:1, but provided that another political party participates in them, the proportion would change in our favor to 2:1. That is why Park Chung Hee is trying to prohibit all political parties, in order to secure his long term stay in power and so that he can solely lead talks with us.

Park Chung Hee is afraid of the war and wants to lead the dialogue with the DPRK for a peaceful reunification, alone. And that is why, by announcing martial law, he says that a system needs to be created that would allow an active dialogue between the North and the South and a joint existence with us.

The second instance depends on the goal of receiving more credit from the USA and Japan. In words Park Chung Hee talks about "independence." But what independence can he implement? Through martial law, he will ask for more loans from the USA and Japan.

As I already said, in the political Committee of the CC of the KWP, the situation in South Korea was examined and analyzed. A final decision has not been made yet though.

Among other things, I would like to let you know that in the present moment Park Chung Hee is afraid even of his own army.

According to facts that we have, when he announced martial law, Park Chung Hee prohibited all flights of military airplanes. All members of the armed forces were prohibited to leave the military bases, and for those who were on home leave—to leave home. All movements of military divisions were also forbidden.

The question arises, what will our position be in connection to the situation that was created?

It is impossible for us to not undertake something because that would mean that we would be closing our eyes to the repressions of the South Korean population. If we are quiet, South Korea could turn into an anticommunist country.

In connection to the situation that was created, we foresee two measures:

First: An article with which to prove that the repressions taking place under the mask of the peaceful reunification are wrong. The article will clarify that the words “peaceful reunification” means the peaceful participation of very large circles of masses. The more people participate in this process, the better. That is why the suppression of the movement for a peaceful reunification is wrong.

Second: In the name of all the political parties and public organizations a statement will come out, condemning the prohibition of political parties in South Korea.

The Union of students will also come out with a statement in connection to the closing of universities.

The materials will be in a discreet tone.

In Park Chung Hee’s statement there is an issue that deserves attention. He says that “these measures need to be approved at the referendum. But if the referendum is without success that will mean that the South Korean people do now want the dialogue between the North and the South. In that case, we will search for new measures for the reunification of the Motherland.”

At the end I ask you comrade ambassadors to bring to the knowledge of your party leadership the contents of this present information.”

Ambassador:
/Y. Georgiev/

Pyongyang 19 October 1972

Typed in three copies

1. for the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party
2. for the Ministry
3. for the file

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DOCUMENT No. 103

[Source: PolA AA, MfAA, C 6855. Obtained for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer and translated for NKIDP by Karen Riechert]

GDR Embassy to DPRK
Political Department
Pyongyang, 23 October 1972

Note
on Information given by the 1st Deputy Foreign Minister of the DPRK,
Comrade Kim Jaebong on 19 October 1972 in the DPRK Foreign Ministry
for the Embassies of Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia and the GDR during
17:00 and 19:00 hours

Present: The Ambassadors of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Mongolia, Hungary, the Polish Acting Ambassador, Comrade Merten (Ambassador Comrade Everhartz was away in Hamhung) and further diplomats from these embassies.

Based on a written manuscript, Comrade Kim Jaebong gave information about the 1st Meeting of the co-chairmen of the Coordination Committee North-South on 12 October 1972 in Panmunjeom and about the declaration of emergency and state of war in South Korea on 17 October 1972. Comrade Kim Jaebong stated the following:

As Kim Yeongju, Head of the Organization and Instruction Department of the KWP Central Committee, was unable to participate in the [Coordination Committee] talks due to his health, negotiations were led by Comrade Pak Seongcheol, 2nd Deputy Prime Minister, and on the South Korean side by intelligence chief Lee Hurak. During the three months since the publication of the Joint Declaration North-South with its three principles of unification outlined by Comrade Kim Il Sung, a movement toward consent has developed with different parties, various groups, and among the people of South Korea. Efforts for peaceful unification have increased, and the anti-imperialist, anti-fascist struggle in South Korea is on the rise. Especially after the 1st and 2nd Main Negotiations of the Red Cross Committees, an ever growing feeling of respect and veneration towards the venerable and beloved leader, Comrade Kim Il Sung, was on display among the South Korean people. The revolutionizing influence of *Juche* and the positive example of socialist construction in the Northern part of the Republic steadily grew.

The South Korean authorities use disingenuous tactics, they run a defamation campaign against the DPRK, they are leaning on foreign powers, and they enforce military preparations and anti-communism. The objective of the DPRK during the negotiations was this: To criticize the South Korean side fiercely in order to stop their despicable machinations behind the scenes.

As already known, the dialogue North-South and the struggle for peaceful unification is both an offensive and defensive battle. It is a battle between defenders of the nation and traitors, between *Juche* and deference, between the united revolutionary forces of internationalism and the united forces of the bourgeoisie, between capitalism and socialism. Given the fact that the struggle for peaceful unification is in essence a class struggle, it was required to criticize the policies of the other side.

Pak Seongcheol who spoke first criticized the non-compliance with the Joint Declaration of 4 July 1972 by South Korea and bolstered this criticism with many examples. He proved when, where, and with what statements, Park Chung Hee, Lee Hurak and Kim Jong-pil acted in South Korea in violation of the principles from the Joint Declaration.

Pak Seongcheol asked the following alternative questions to Lee Hurak: Do you want to support, together with us, the peaceful unification, or do you want to continue anti-communism? If you want to join forces with us, then there must be no more anti-communism. If anti-communism continues to exist, then where will your policy lead to? Lee Hurak, who got confused by the force of the evidence, had to recognize this. He stated that he had actively supported compliance with the Joint Declaration. However, due to the complicated domestic structures of South Korea

and its society, there was no chance to control the implementation of his instructions with regard to anti-communism.

Pak Seongcheol: What you are telling us here, is actually stated by a close confidant and personal friend of Kim Jong-pil. You are after all no ordinary people but those who govern South Korea.

Lee Hurak: I am innocent.

Pak Seongcheol: You assert the United Nations is not an external force. We do not understand that.

Lee Hurak: The United Nations is indeed not an external force.

Pak Seongcheol: The American forces in South Korea act in the name of the United Nations and serve in South Korea under the U.N. flag. Isn't that an external force? The Charter of the United Nations prohibits interference in internal matters.

Lee Hurak: If you pose the question that way, then the criticism is justified.

Pak Seongcheol: At the 15th Anniversary of the foundation of the South Korean army, Park Chung Hee declared that Korea ought to be unified on the basis of a free democracy. This means that he wants to impose the capitalist order upon us. Since we agreed to achieve the unification of the nation without taking into account the differences in our systems, how can his statement be reconciled with this principle? This is anti-communism.

Lee Hurak: I acknowledge that mistakes have been made. When I wrote speeches for Park Chung Hee I did not use such words. It is very likely that journalists added such lines to reports on their own.

Pak Seongcheol: What kind of dialogue is this when Park Chung Hee speaks on one hand in the spirit of anti-communism, and on the other hand supports the dialogue between North and South?

Lee Hurak: I cannot assume responsibility with regard to the statement that the United Nations does not constitute an external force, and that unification ought to occur on the basis of free democracy, as well as for other words of Kim Jong-pil.

After this exchange, there were discussions about the establishment of the Coordination Committee. Our proposals had already been turned in earlier. So we were interested to hear what the South Korean side was thinking about them. The South Koreans suggested having a Coordination Committee with five members from each side. We stated that we do not mind, and the number of members is actually of not much relevance. We agreed to return to the problem of the levels to be represented in the Coordination Committee later on.

Lee Hurak posed the question, with reference to a quote from Kim Il Sung, what we actually envisage by a confederation? Pak Seongcheol replied that, under preservation of the different systems in North and South, a Supreme National Committee should be established with a unified position in public and the task to solve internal questions through joint effort.

Lee Hurak: If you would expand the Coordination Committee, would it serve as a nucleus for the establishment of a confederation?

Pak Seongcheol: There is the possibility to do it this way. Yet important is a statement of will from the masses that have to decide this question on a democratic basis.

Lee Hurak: I have understood everything. You should trust me. I am in favor of not fighting against each other in the future but living together in coexistence between both systems.

It was agreed to hold the next meetings of the co-chairmen in turn in Pyongyang and in Seoul. The 2nd meeting will be held on 2 November 1972 in Pyongyang, the 3rd on 20 November 1972 in Seoul.

On 15 October there arrived a proposal from South Korea via telephone to convey a meeting between representatives from North and South on 16 October. The meeting took place. The South Korean representative asked to submit the following messages to Kim Jeongju:

1. We want to achieve unification at any cost as long as Kim Il Sung and Park Chung Hee are still personally in power, i.e. during the 1970s.
2. The content of the North Korean speeches during the 1st Meeting were not fully comprehended. After repeated listening to the tapes, we can now say that the criticism voiced [by the DPRK] is justified. We have committed mistakes. Therefore it is necessary to launch new measures from our side.

We asked: What kind of measures?

The South Korean side responded: Park Chung Hee and Lee Hurak want to unify the country. Yet many in South Korea are against this. Therefore order must be established. On 17 October Park Chung Hee will publish an important declaration to which North Korean should listen to attentively. If it has comments, it can ask questions about it.

Then Comrade Kim Jaebong continued:

One hour before the publication of Park Chung Hee's declaration there came a phone message from South Korea that it will be made public at 1900 hours. Also it was proposed to have a meeting on 18 October. On 17 October the extraordinary declaration of Park Chung Hee about the state of national emergency became public. On 18 October a meeting between representatives from North and South Korea took place.

The following message was transmitted from Lee Hurak to Kim Yeongju:

The situation in Asia has very much changed in the Seventies. In particular there are changes in the bipolar USA-USSR system, and also in relations between the four powers USA-USSR-China-Japan. Given these circumstances, we hold the opinion that we have to solve the national question through our own means without the reliance on the United States and Japan.

That is the reason why the Joint Declaration of 4 July was published and the dialogue between North and South began. After this declaration became public, there were many groups formed in South Korea that were against it. There have been many accusations against the government that the Joint Declaration has violated the [South Korean] constitution. This was behind Kim Jong-ju's criticism of the current disturbances in South Korea against the line of peaceful unification. The opposition existing in South Korea has interfered with the implementations of obligations [from the Joint Declaration of 4 July], and the extraordinary declaration [of 17 October] to impose a state of national emergency aims at changing the constitution. The current constitution was written under the influence of a bipolar situation. It is based on a doctrine of anti-communism, and there are no options for compromise.

The current South Korean constitution does not correspond to the peaceful unification of the country. Therefore we want to adapt the new constitution according to the new conditions. The United States and Japan are against these intentions. Yet we have nonetheless made the decision to solve these questions on the basis of *Juche* and in the spirit of the principles of national self-determination. Although the United States and Japan are against this self-determination, we still have the intention to create a system that serves the purpose of dialogue between North and South and which will have a President in its center after the amendment of the constitution.

We asked this question: Why was the state of national emergency and of war declared? What kind of new system is this supposed to be?

The response from the South Korean side: Since our domestic questions are irresolvable by normal means, we want to guarantee the drafting and acceptance of a new constitution through a state of national emergency. This way we avoid chaos in our country. When we draft a new constitution, we have to ascertain that no new misunderstandings occur. If you have questions about this, we are ready to answer them. [end of quote]

Currently there are many opinions in South Korea. The rightist elements think those emergency measures are directed against them. Others do not know where this 17 October declaration will lead South Korea. There are questions whether this might be a pro-communist turn and a non-abandonment of dialogue [with the North]. There are also discussions whether this new development might signal a turn toward the right. The new constitution is said to fully address the question of unification. A National Assembly is supposed to be established that could guarantee a peaceful dialogue between North and South. There are intentions to amend the constitution in such a way that it will serve as a legal basis for the process of dialogue. Amending the constitution does not mean to abandon dialogue but to enforce it.

The Political Committee of the KWP Central Committee has examined and analyzed all aspects of the situation in South Korea. So far we have not arrived at final conclusions. For now we can say, however, that the current situation in South Korea is very complicated.

After the publication of the Joint Declaration, aspirations of the South Korean masses for peaceful unification have grown. Activities by the opposition parties and within the population increased. This is unsettling for the South Korean government. They are afraid. According to our information, after the publication of the Joint Declaration of 4th of July, 90 progressive cadres were arrested in South Korea. Anti-communism continues to exist. The South Korean economy is currently facing major problems. Small and medium businesses are going bankrupt. The agricultural situation is bad. There will be a poor harvest. People's suffering is on the rise. Currently Park Chung-hee pursues the so-called "Movement of the New Village". This movement is about the forced creation of new villages. Peasants are putting up resistance against it. The implementation of "agricultural reform" has resulted in a numerical increase of large landowners, as well as in corruption and so forth. Currently the situation in South Korea is similar like in the old China under Jiang Jieshi. Therefore the hope for socialism, like in the North, is growing among the South Korean people. Up to the publication of the Joint Declaration there was a standstill in the students' movement. After the 4th of July the movement became jolted again. Park Chung Hee is much afraid of the opposition parties, the people's masses and the students. This is why parliament has been dissolved, the activities of all political parties have been suspended, and the universities have been closed.

After the 19th of April, Park Chung Hee has implemented a militaristic-fascist upheaval. At the end of last year a state of national emergency was declared. Now a state of war has been added. Why did Park Chung Hee declare a state of national emergency and of war? Park Chung Hee thinks the opposition parties will go against him if, in the current situation, he wants to have dialogue and political meetings with us just on his own. [If opposition parties would join], then the score in those meetings would not be 1:1 but 2:1 in favor of the North. This is why the opposition parties, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press have been abolished and Park Chung Hee is establishing a one-man-rule.

This is an enforcement of militaristic-fascist dictatorship, an attempt to repress the revolutionary movement, and to secure the further stay of Park Chung Hee in power. This way he will have the monopoly to conduct the dialogue with us, and the score is back to 1:1. Park Chung Hee fears a military conflict. Therefore he wants to solve the unification question peacefully. His objective is to create a system that is favorable to dialogue and peaceful unification.

Park Chung Hee is acting from an autonomous position. However, what kind of autonomy does he have if, on the other hand, he is dependent on the United States and Japan and wants to receive their aid? Park Chung Hee is afraid of his own army. By declaring a state of war, he barred all airplanes from flying over South Korean territory. Military employees were barred from leaving the barracks. Those on leave were prohibited from moving around. All army movements have been banned.

What is now our position? If we do not do anything, it will mean we are closing our eyes from the repression of the people [in South Korea]. Therefore we must not remain passive. If we stay passive, we remain silent in the wake of South Korea becoming anti-communist.

We will take up the two following measures:

1. We publish an article in our newspaper and prove that repression of the South Korean people under the pretext of peaceful unification is unjustified and wrong. The more the masses will participate in peaceful unification, the better.
2. There will be a statement published in the name of all political parties to unmask the reasons behind the dissolution of the South Korean parliament. A similar statement is supposed to be issued in the name of the students of North Korea concerning the closing of universities in South Korea. In all that, we will conform to the polite form common so far.

Park Chung Hee's extraordinary declaration contains an interesting passage we will have to analyze in the near future: "Our measures will lead up to a referendum. If the new constitution will not be accepted, it will mean that the South Korean people do not want the dialogue between North and South. Then it will be necessary to look for new steps toward unification."

In conclusion, Comrade Kim Jaebong asked everybody in the attendance to forward this information to the politburos of their respective parties.

Signed: Gensicke, Attache
Initialed: Merten

CC:

1x Comrade Fischer [Deputy Foreign Minister]
1x Comrade Markowski [Central Committee, Department IV]
1x Comrade Schneidewind [Foreign Ministry, Far Eastern Department]
1x Comrade Grunert [Foreign Ministry, ZID]
1x Embassy, Political Department

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DOCUMENT No. 104

[Source: PoIA AA, MfAA, C 1080/78. Obtained for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer and translated for NKIDP by Karen Riechert]

GDR Embassy to DPRK
Political Department
Pyongyang, 24 October 1972

Note

on a Conversation with the 1st Secretary of the USSR Embassy, Comrade Kurbatov,

on 18 October 1972 in the GDR Embassy

At the beginning of our conversation, I informed Comrade Kurbatov about the stay of [West German Foreign Minister Walter] Scheel in Beijing and about Chinese positions toward the GDR and the policy of the community of socialist states in Europe. I also remarked that the Confidential Bulletin of the DPRK news agency devotes some attention to Scheel's visit to Beijing. Comrade Kurbatov asserted the Koreans take it for an irreversible fact that China will be recognized by capitalist states. In his opinion, the DPRK cadres were informed about all nuances of Scheel's talks in Beijing through the Confidential Bulletin. It is certainly anything but uninteresting that Foreign Minister Ho Dam stays in Beijing during the PRC visit of [Japanese Prime Minister] Tanaka as well as during the Scheel visit. As far as he [Kurbatov] knows, there are currently numerous West Germans in the DPRK for business reasons. Apparently the DPRK is interested to establish economic ties with West Germany.

During the following course of conversation, we exchanged opinions about the declaration of emergency and the state of war in South Korea.

Comrade Kurbatov noted that he can only voice his temporary opinion. Park Chung Hee is eager to solidify his position to lead the negotiations with the North from a position of the strongman. Kim Yong Nam, 1st Deputy Head of the International Department in the KWP Central Committee, said during a conversation that Pak Seongcheol will actively join the talks with Lee Hurak and will not just be a listener. Pak Seongcheol will exert pressure. Apparently the DPRK as well as the South do think that negotiations are only feasible from a position of strength. He [Kurbatov] thinks, the South Korean side will not abandon the concept to achieve unification on its own terms. The concept of unification has the attention of both the North and the South.

The question is from which position the respective side begins with. South Korea is eager to implement unification from a capitalist angle. Like Kim Il Sung, Park Chung Hee has declared he views towards unification as a historic mission. Park Chung Hee will attempt to hold on to his position and win certain concessions from the DPRK. The emergency measures speak to that. The DPRK wants to move Park Chung Hee into a corner using the principles of the Joint Declaration. The DPRK's restraint after the declaration of martial law [in the South] demonstrated that it is still eager to continue the dialogue. The DPRK aims its demands at the abolition of anti-communist security laws and the creation of a democratic situation [in the South].

Kurbatov knows that Pak Seongcheol asked Lee Hurak in a meeting why the anti-communist laws were not repealed. Lee Hurak responded that there are no communists in the South and their activities are restricted. The communists would come from the North. Therefore the laws are not directed against the South Korean population but against the intruders from the North.

Park Chung Hee will attempt to repress the emotions of the people and strengthen his position. He will also try to build up South Korea economically. He will attempt to exploit the principles of the Joint Declaration for his own purposes. South Korea's efforts to establish relations with

socialist countries show that the South Korean regime wants to be recognized as a state and have the realities of Korea acknowledged.

Comrade Kurbatov also informed about a meeting organized by the KWP Central Committee with comrades from the Soviet Embassy for the occasion of the 27th Anniversary of the foundation of the KWP. Kim Yong Nam, 1st Deputy Head of the International Department in the KWP Central Committee, participated. Similar meetings were arranged by the Central Committee for the embassies of China, Vietnam and Cuba on different days and at different locations.

Furthermore Comrade Kurbatov remarked that currently KWP party cells are studying a Red Letter from Kim Il Sung. There is not much known about its content except that it deals with questions of unification policy and ideological questions for the KWP, namely increasing implementation of the *Juche* ideology.

Merten
Embassy Counselor

CC:

1x Foreign Ministry, Far Eastern Department
1x Central Committee, Department IV
1x Embassy, Political Department

[Translated by Karen Riechert, 736 words.]

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DOCUMENT No. 105

[Source: South Korean Foreign Ministry Archive. Copy in NKIDP Archive. Translated for NKIDP by Song Jihei]

Conversation with Kim Il Sung

Date and Time: Nov. 3, 1972 10:15-12:20

Location: Pyongyang Government Building

Participants:

From Seoul

Lee Hurak

Co-chairman of the Coordinating Committee

CHANG Ki Yeong

Assistant to the co-chairman (IOC Committee and former Vice Premier)

CHOI Kyu Hah

Assistant to the co-chairman (Special Assistant to the President for Foreign Affairs)

KANG Indeok

Assistant to the co-chairman (KCIA Director for Office 9)

JUNG Hongjin

Assistant to the co-chairman (KCIA Director of Negotiation and Settlement)

LEE Dong Spokesman for the co-chairman

From Pyongyang

KIM Il Sung

KIM Il 1st Vice Premier

PAK Seongcheol Deputy Co-chairman

KIM Joong Lin Secretary of Central Committee, Workers' Party of Korea

RYU Jang Sik Assistant to the co-chairman (Deputy Director of Organization and Guidance Department & Director of External Affairs, Workers' Party of Korea)

LEE Gyung Seok Assistant to the co-chairman (Cabinet Secretary)

HAN Wung Shik Assistant to the co-chairman (Cabinet Secretary)

KIM Deukhyeon Assistant to the co-chairman (Chief Officer of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, Workers' Party of Korea)

North (KIM): Is President Park doing well and healthy?

South (LEE): Yes, he is very well and healthy. He also requested that I deliver his regards.

North (KIM): I am very pleased to meet you again Director Lee. Also, it is my first time meeting with Mr. Chang and Mr. Choi but I am well aware of your names. I planned to meet you in the afternoon. However, I had to rearrange the schedule due to other arrangements. Let's have a conference in the afternoon. How is the harvest in the South?

South (LEE): We have had good projections but suffered some damage towards the end due to the cold weather.

North (KIM): We generally have two harvests a year in the North. The South also has two harvests in most areas, is that right?

South (LEE): That is correct. We must settle with organizing the South-North Coordinating Committee. As I mentioned to Vice Premier Pak, I believe there has been significant progress in the South-North relations since the July 4th Joint Statement. We need to reach a consensus on organizing the South-North Coordinating Committee. During our previous meeting, Premier Kim mentioned, "we can't expect we will solve the issues at once. We must study them with the lapse of time and take care of the simpler matters one by one." My research on the issues is generally based on your remarks.

North (KIM): There has been significant progress after the Statement. I met people who I've never met before. Last time we had four guests and we have more guests this time..... To my mind, we should reach an agreement regarding the Coordinating Committee Since Director Lee is here, we should reach an agreement during your visit and start resolving more practical issues next time. How about we discuss the issue in the afternoon meeting?

South (LEE): Since the Premier mentioned so, I'm certain the Vice Premier will do as you suggest.

North (KIM): The Coordinating Committee is very advantageous in solving the issues of our nation. Nevertheless, we do not need to be impetuous. A number of people in the world dislike us being reunified. Since early times, the great powers have ruled over small nations by splitting them apart. Looking through history and philosophy books, it appears that the great powers have been quite distrustful. Korea is located in the midst of China, the Soviet Union, Japan, and the United States. Thus, I imagine that outwardly

they say they want us to reunify but in their hearts, many of them don't. It's easier to control [us] when we are divided. We must reach reunification by any means. Some even call us different people when we are in fact the same.

For example, people in Germany called themselves "Germans" under Hitler's rule. Now they argue that they are different nations. We believe in Marxism, so how shall we define our people? People with common language, writing system, culture, and history shouldn't be split into two nations. Our people shouldn't belong to two nations. Although it's imperfect, King Sejong developed our own writing system in order to filter out the Chinese alphabet, and greatly contributed to the advancement of our culture. We share the same writing system, history and Korean blood. Why should we be divided? If we let this continue, our people could split into two. I recently spoke to the people who came from Japan that we shouldn't tolerate them to speak only Japanese and no Korean. There are people who try to connect with Japan. The Chinese are quite odd people. It is being said the Won and Qing took over China. In fact, China is taken over by the Han. Chinese are quite difficult to assimilate. The Chosun people are quite frail in this sense..... We somewhat lack strength in this. Nonetheless we hold on to the heart even when abroad. In this sense, the bloodline is not that simple. The Japanese Colonialists attempted to change our family names calling it the "oneness of Japan and Korea" They ruled over the Chosun people for 36 years but they failed to assimilate us into Japan.

Our nation should not be divided. If one diverges from us, he deserves to be declared a traitor. When Director Lee first came to the North, I spoke highly of you being brave and heroic. Once you have come to the North, shouldn't you prove to the world that our people cannot be divided? Liberalism? Socialism? Which one is better? We should sort out the virtues, dispose the vice, and select the strengths..... What is the confrontation for? I heard some media in the South call this a *confrontation with dialogue*. Confrontation means to compete with each other, [and] people from the same nation confront each other. Competition results in winners and losers. We shouldn't win or lose, don't you think?

South (LEE): I need to clarify one misunderstanding. I believe there are some differences in the sentiment of the word. It seems you are disturbed by the word confrontation. In the South, confrontation does not necessarily relate to winning and losing. What it means is to do our best and result in a success. I'd like to point out that the word confrontation does not carry a negative nuance.

North (KIM): Regardless of whether you call it competition or peaceful coexistence, two nations may coexist but there can't be coexistence within one nation. We shouldn't argue with each other over Liberalism and Socialism. Competition within one nation is unnecessary as it merely measures the superiority between two systems.

Please deliver my words to President Park. We need to fix the misunderstandings if there is any. Anyhow, we must cooperate [*hap-jak*].³ The Coordinating Committee should

³ "*hap-jak*": Kim continues to use the word while the delegation from South avoid the use of this word unless necessary. Lee later tells Kim that the word is not used in the South.

focus on cooperation rather than regulating military confrontation, defamation and aspersion. My faith is in the cooperation of South and North. We should put ourselves together. Of course, the tasks won't be accomplished at a stretch. Let's start one by one. We should cooperate in sports, culture, and also economy. I have thought about a number of things for us to cooperate on at the present time.

Anyhow, through the process of economic cooperation [and moving on to] political and cultural [cooperation], we will be able to develop further understanding of each other, and it will be beneficial in pursuing our nation's goal. For instance, the North has abundant underground resources. We recently discovered iron ore deposit. There are several billion tons. The Japanese, who came before to seek iron ore, only saw the surface of it.

South (LEE): Where did you find that much?

North (KIM): It was also because the Japanese had not yet developed the technology then. Anyways, the Japanese were not even halfway through with iron ore. We found hundreds of millions of tons in Kaecheon and several more billion tons in Pungsan. It's about ten billion tons altogether. We have plenty of iron ore. Our concern is that we can't drill deep enough since for now we can only excavate about four to five hundred meters

North (Kim II): We can currently dig down to 1,000 meters.

North (KIM): Right, now it is 1,000 meters underground. We need equipments to dig as deep as 2,000-3,000 meters... but the equipment is awfully expensive. We also need about two hundred thousand geological researchers, but we only have around a hundred thousand.

South (LEE): How good is the quality?

North (KIM): The quality is over 30%. It's about 70% when separated. The quality is outstanding. We trade iron ore with Japan and China. We exchange iron ore for coke.

There is just a plentiful amount of iron ore. We also found nickel. Let's work cooperatively.

South (LEE): It is best to proceed with easier tasks and leave more difficult tasks for later, as you previously mentioned. Economic cooperation is also included in the function of the Coordinating Committee. It is said well begun is half done. I believe the Coordinating Committee will be organized soon to process things step by step.

North (KIM): Let us develop a cooperative project.

South (LEE): The development itself is not that significant. However, the issues you have mentioned will be solved gradually.

North (KIM): We have plenty of issues to cooperate on. For instance, about five to six million tons of pollacks and sailfin sandfish travel to our coast annually, but we are capable of fishing five hundred thousand to six hundred thousand tons at the most. I'm not certain about the depth but the large mass of pollack that crowds in is about three thousand meters wide and five thousand meters in length, according to the fishermen. If the fishermen of the South and North cooperate, we are capable of fishing much more.

Fishing is a seasonal business that lasts for about a month. We are now capable of fishing only about 10%. The scientists researching marine resources say catching about 50% of pollack will not damage the population of pollacks. In other words, fishing 250 thousand tons of pollack is acceptable. Won't it be mutually beneficial if the fishermen from the South and North worked together? Let's cooperate in fishing as well.

The South has developed light industry and manufacturing industry, and the North has developed heavy industry

We decided to focus on machine industry since long ago. Since we have abundant iron ore, we produce tractors and automobiles to export to our neighbors. We have a big market. We can have a prosperous life promoting machine industry. Although there have been significant advancements, we are yet at a beginning stage. Still, there is some gap to compete in the Capitalist market. South-North cooperation is desirable. We can also divide work. It will greatly reduce each other's burdens. As a result, we will prosper having no need to envy others.

I heard that the South is actively developing many industries. However, I wonder, is the South capable of further advancements without developing the resources in the North? Of course, you could import from other countries, but is it necessary to import resources when your closest neighbor has abundant resources? We need to cooperate one step after another in order to develop trust. Words can't tell one's true intention. If the Coordinating Committee has this task in the item, we ought to start from that specific task.

South (LEE): I am well aware. Indeed, we must proceed with the tasks one by one as the projects that Premier Kim mentioned are included in the Coordinating Committee's projects rather than [emphasizing the] organization of the Committee itself.

North (KIM): We should put [the projects] in action. Let's work on a wide range of projects. Cooperation in culture is an integral part as well. One word could have multiple meanings. If the separation continues, we could separate into two nations. Language, writing system.....

Kim Dubong who stayed in Yenan, had an argument with us regarding our writing system. Reforming the writing system is what you studied and it will leave honor to you, but in fact it will encourage a division of our nation. Thus, we rejected writing system reform. He proposed to reform our writing system similar to "Latin." Exchange in science..... That is the reason why I support cooperation than exchange.

Scholars in the South are more knowledgeable of what we are not familiar with. Likewise, our scholars may be more familiar with what the scholars in South have less knowledge of. In order to develop industries, we will also need cooperation in the sphere of science. The mass media call it confrontation with dialogue, competition with dialogue. However, it is now the time for us to cooperate. Since we have initiated a conversation, the Coordinating Committee should refrain from doing all talks and no action.....

South (LEE): Listening to your remarks, Premier Kim, it is exactly the same as what President Park has in mind. President Park always mentioned that we will prosper when the South and North become one. We could develop Geumgang Mountain, go sightseeing in Mt. Geumgang, and visit Busan afterwards. When we put our efforts together, we will be able to display our might even without political integration. Since President Park and Premier Kim have similar thoughts, the cabinet members around the President and the Premier must work hard to promote what you have in mind.

South (CHANG): I likewise heard President Park remarking the exact same thoughts.

South (LEE): For instance, we purchase the iron ore at POSCO⁴ from Australia for roughly eleven dollars per ton. If the North could supply the same resource, the tariff barrier is abolished. How beneficial is that?

North (KIM): I'd be delighted if President Park has similar thoughts. It is perhaps a good time for us to cooperate. We will have understandings instead of misunderstandings. When the South and the North cooperate, all the issues will vanish.

South (LEE): If the athletes had come together and participated as a unified team in the last Olympic Games, we could have better displayed the power of our nation to the international world, I believe.

North (KIM): We are then truly invincible. Our football team came back yesterday from a game in India. India has four hundred million people and we only have twenty-five million but we were winning by 7 to 0. Then the Indian audiences cheered for more goals. We won by 9 to 0, eventually.

Was it "basketball"? It was not soccer. We had a match with West Germany and we were winning by a goal. The referee must have been bribed. We lost a point due to penalty [shoot]. Then he called for extra time but our team refused. We lost the game because it was counted as withdrawal. When we went to the Soviet Union, the Soviets [told us that they] also lost 6 to 0 with West Germany but with Chinese team... it is the Chinese team, isn't it? They won by 4 to 0. What does a large population matter? When we unite, we can defeat all. Our nation is strong and our people are full of fight.

South (LEE): We should form a unified team for the next Olympic Game. We should also participate as a unified team in international competitions prior to the Olympic.

⁴ The original document calls it *Pohang Chonghap Jecheol* which is a previous name for POSCO.

South (CHANG): We can cooperate in cheering even at the moment.

North (KIM): Cooperation, from economic to cultural and political cooperation, it is not much of a complicated issue. What is Socialism? “Nasser” is known for his support for Socialism. So are “Somali” and “Sukarno.” In fact, they were all Nationalists mistaken for Socialists. Our Socialism doesn’t know the Russian’s quite well. Before the war, we hardly mentioned Socialism. We developed Socialism after the war. We published a thesis in April 1955. The Soviets and the Western world laughed at us because we wanted to adopt Socialism. They derided us saying Socialism has to be after industrial development. In fact, we were devastated in ashes due to the war. Middle-income farmers, wealthy farmers and small business owners all became penniless. We were already through with land reforms like in the South. An advanced country will not allow a feudal ownership of land..... Since everyone is penniless, we needed to pull together. Then we discussed how and came up with a cooperative farming system. Thus we asked the people to choose among 1. Labor exchange fields, 2. Co-owned labor fields, and 3. Possessions combined fields. In the cities, the small business owners had “empty hands and naked fists”⁵. Therefore, the state had to lend them money, and we decided that loaning a sum of money to a group is more efficient than lending portions to individuals. It is how we came up with a production cooperative community. Now, we only have Socialist-owned and state-owned [properties]. We did not replicate the Russian system by rote. We didn’t experience major tragedies, for instance beheading the wealthy farmers as in *Virgin Soil Upturned* (Sholokhov’s work). That is the reason why I believe in *Juche*. If we didn’t cooperate then, the development to the current date was quite impossible. Because we irrigated the land without the distinction of ownership, we now have 7 billion m² of rice fields⁶.

South (LEE): In the South, we have about 20 billion m².

North (KIM): Socialism is not a big threat. I would avoid giving you a lecture on Socialism. Nevertheless, we can progress from economic cooperation to political cooperation at anytime.

South (LEE): As you have mentioned, we should expedite simpler assignments and take time with more complicated issues. We should work together under this principle.

North (KIM): I have one concern. Politics, culture and society, none of these are completely independent from one another. In order to resolve this issue, that issue will come into conflict... We must loosen the tension between the South and the North. For we are uncertain of when we might have a war, we have significant burdens in military expense. The burdens in military expense need to be the first issue for us to solve. The South receives 250 million dollars in foreign aid but we have no foreign assistance. It is a lot of pressure for us. We need to take care of this issue first. Why would the U.S. support South Korea and for what would they continue the support? If we are unable to solve the

⁵ “_____”: *jeok su gong gyon* = have no financial capability

⁶ In original document, *jeongbo*, a Korean unit of estimating rice field is used. 1 *jeongbo* = 9917.4m²

political issues, it is not going to work later. We should reduce the military expenses and promote peaceful operations. We produce guns, and you import them from overseas. We need political cooperation in order to solve this issue as well. Guns are not like food in a sense that it can't be consumed. So what will unused guns become? Prior to all, we need to cooperate instead of attacking each other and decrease the military expenses. Also regarding the issue of federation, we must proceed with a primary form of a federation to the international community, leaving the systems in the South and the North the way they are. It will lead us to clearing up all issues. We will need a common name externally. Do we want to join the UN as a divided country? No, I would never. Even when the South attempts to, you can't join the UN because we can veto. We could maintain as two countries domestically but to the outside world, we should become one country. The Republic of Korea, Democratic People's Republic of Korea..... We can also come up with a new name. The Confederal Republic of Korea sounds reasonable. Under the agreement, we could co chair the federation. This way we will be able to raise the nation's dignity. That's how we will raise dignity domestically. Let's study this. I meant to mention this when I meet with President Park but I decided to speak to you since we are running out of time. Without the tension loosened, we won't be able to solve the problems.

South (LEE): Shouldn't we consider the South-North Joint Statement a peace agreement? What matters is the will to conform to the statement. While President Park is in the office, there is no need for you to be occupied in producing guns. The federation issue is also very complicated that it requires multidimensional research. I once read about your stance towards federation, Premier. President Park has also mentioned previously about the need of a board of representatives until we are finally reunified. All in all, we will need to study more.

North (KIM): You tend to separate the matters but we look at the matters interlinked. We call it dialectical materialism. For us, it is difficult to separate the matters individually. The exchange of dispersed family members through the Red Cross Societies Even though it may seem like a simple issue, it is not indeed. For example, Lee Bom-sok, the chief South Red Cross delegate, has an aunt in the North. I asked them if they wanted to meet. However, the aunt didn't want to meet her nephew. Why was it? Her sons and daughters have to make their careers but she was worried that it may hurt her children's careers if people learned that her nephew is a high-ranking official in the South. I'm certain there are many people with similar concerns in the South. If people worry that finding dispersed family could harm them, and thus, change names and tell lies to find dispersed family members, it is never a simple issue. We are accused of linking politics, and you tell us that you are disappointed. Nevertheless, we must make sure that no one suffers any harm. At a factory, I met a man whose father left for the South. I asked him if he wanted to meet his father. He answered, he wouldn't meet his father because he did wrong, and if he did right, he will call him father. I asked him if he really meant it and he answered yes. We must be able to take care of the [South-North] issues considering related matters. Now that we opened up, we shouldn't reversely close the door. Who would blame Kim Il Sung or president

Park anymore? Our thoughts and your thoughts can be different. The initial philosophy can be different. For us, everything is interconnected.

You observe matters as separate. Individual matters can be solved in parts. Nonetheless, do the other matters follow? We can draw closer the differences in thoughts. Military issue..... The South has about seven hundred thousand and we have about four hundred thousand to five hundred thousand. Why do we need such a number for? We only need about hundred thousand from South and another hundred thousand from us as a strategic unit. Even in the case of Japanese invasion, two hundred thousand is enough.

South (LEE): We will need some in Amnok River as well.

North (KIM): Exploiting underground resources, economic and political cooperation, and a decrease in military expenses

South (LEE): That is exactly the reason why we are organizing the Coordinating Committee. We will open the doors one by one.

North (KIM): I heard President Park wishes that we be reunified in the 80s. Then I will be 70 [years old] and President Park will be around 67-68 [years old], isn't it?

South (LEE): What he intended is that we eventually be reunified in the 80s through preceding economic and cultural exchanges. Even if we have some delays, aiming for the 80s will give us some time.

North (KIM): Director Lee mentioned that I shouldn't take newspapers seriously but we ought to pay attention to what they say.

South (LEE): I am confident that these conversations bear significant meaning. I come to Pyongyang to listen to Premier Kim's thoughts, and Vice Premier Park comes to Seoul and hears President Park's thoughts..... When your remarks are drawn closer to your intents, things will proceed with one accord.

South (CHANG): Yes, I suppose there are correlations. [I suppose we will reach] Political cooperation enabled through economic cooperation..... Assuming that we proceed successively taking the material correlations into account, when do you expect we will be able to be reunified, Premier?

North (KIM): We can right away. We can reunify even within a month. Only if we are determined, we are able to reunify right after this moment. [We will] Invoke a martial law one after another..... We are afraid of nothing.

South (CHANG): How long do you project it will take presuming that we have a successful transition from economic cooperation to political?

North (KIM): If President Park and I have our wills put together, it can happen in a day. It's because President Park and the people in power are suspicious of us. We should all leave the doubts behind.

South (CHANG): A new form of federation will also require some time to fully unify as a country.

North (KIM): Frankly speaking, I don't want to become the chairman when we reunify. I want to write philosophy. I haven't even finished writing books [on the ideas that I have in mind]..... We should dismiss thinking about who will control over whom from our minds and unite as a nation. If we think negatively and behave reluctantly, it is impossible for us to reach solidarity. It all depends on your understanding. Without being concerned about time, let's have lunch together, hold proper discussions and leave after signing the treaty in the afternoon.

South (CHOI): There can't be a treaty between us. It should be [called] a statement.

North (KIM): Please convey my messages to President Park that we are not impatient. It's been a year since the Red Cross Conference and half a year since the Joint Statement. It is time for us to show some achievements externally. Let's start with cooperation. Let's start with economic and cultural cooperation.

South (LEE): Since President Park has similar thoughts, the methods will be quite simple.

North (KIM): Let's cooperate. Military issue..... We should cut down on the expenses. There is an excessive burden upon military expenses. Decreasing the military burden is related to the increase in political trust.

South (LEE): In fact, it is the possibility of a military conflict that brought about the current state. The South and North mutually agree on the need to reduce military expenses. However, in the South there is no such word as "cooperation (*hap-jak*)."

I understand what you intend. We can promote cooperation of your intent in various fields including economic, culture and society. We ought to pour our efforts in promoting such cooperation.

We, the assistants to President Park, will discuss the matter with your assistants, Premier, and have the issues to come as soon as possible (= seek to resolve the issues as soon as possible).

North (KIM): Why did you schedule your visit for such a short time? Is it all done when you publish documents and make announcements? You should stay longer so that we have sufficient time for conversation and to connect.

South (LEE): My job as the head of the KCIA is to arrest ex-communists. The KCIA is a crucial government agency responsible of national security. I determined to visit because I believed reconciliation between South and North is as important as arresting communists, in pursuit of national security. It is a disgrace for our nation if we closed the door after we once opened it. We need to widen the door to raise our nation's dignity.

North (KIM): I fully trusted you, as you are the one who arrests communists. I may distrust Mr. Chang and Mr. Choi. I have greater trust and respect for you Director Lee, since the person who captures communists visited to cooperate with the communists. Director Lee has tremendous responsibility in our nation's reunification and it is an honor for our nation's future.

That is why I called you a hero. I could give you the honor as a part of the people of this country. Kim Yeongju, Director of Organization and Guidance is suffering from Vegetable Neurological Disorder⁷ and it seems it is not cured easily Kim Yeongju intended to visit Seoul to meet with President Park and hold discussions when he recovers..... He will be better by December or next New Year. Director Kim Yeongju is planning on a visit as a courtesy. I could certainly send my brother to the South since Director Lee visited us. He's [sick that he is] unable to do his work. I will send him to the South to meet with President Park.

It is best that we cooperate. By the way, I heard someone named Shin Sang-cho speaking to the media. He argued we should not reunify. He said, if the South and North reunify, we have to kill 5 million each. Then asked how we can unify considering such casualties. Thus, I called the chief of general staff and asked how many casualties we expect. He answered that the number is definitely less than five million. Many people want to interrupt our reunification. We both have to avoid those journalists. If we want to cooperate, we shouldn't be against communism. We will offend each other and eventually fight against each other. We will be repeating the confusion during Rhee Syngman. We shouldn't make any anti-communist movements. Since Director Lee expressed the initiative, please visit us often. We may not have a lot to provide hospitality but we can share a bowl of rice. The foreigners are going to be astounded if we cooperate in fishing and developing underground resources.

South (LEE): Thank you for your time whenever I visit Pyongyang.

North (KIM): Let's speak frankly if there is any misunderstanding. Why shouldn't we?

South (LEE): I'd be happy to see more people developing understanding through a successful organization of the Coordinating Committee. It is better than my delivery of your thoughts.

North (KIM): Bring more company when you visit next time. I'm very pleased to have Director Lee who is in charge of arresting communists. That means you have a strong will for our reunification. Please speak frankly if there is any misunderstanding. It is time we cooperate instead of merely talking.

South (LEE): President Park and Premier Kim have a very similar philosophy. The theme of the thoughts is almost identical.

North (KIM): We should cooperate in fishing and mining underground resources.

⁷ “ ”: North Korean medical term

South (LEE): What is your price for iron ore in the international market?

North (Kim Il): It's 5 pounds per ton.

North (KIM): When the congressman from Japan's Liberal Democratic Party visited, I told them we have nothing for sale to you. The iron ore and hard coal (anthracite) we have..... We do not wish to be your resource provider or consuming market. We want one-on-one trade. During Khrushchev, we were asked to join the COMECON but we turned down the offer. If we merely export resources, we'll only be left with abandoned mines. You must import our machines. We want machine versus machine and resource versus resource trade. That is why we didn't join the COMECON. If they don't import from us, then we won't trade. The Soviets still purchase thousands of machines from us. We told them, you are the college students and we will be little children still growing up in kindergarten. We trade with the Soviets under the condition that we export machines and resources and import coal, coke and petroleum. China buys iron ore from us and brings us coke.

South (LEE): In the North, the chemical industry still runs by coal. We run the industry by petroleum.

North (KIM): Petroleum access is highly limited to us. Carbide has some electricity losses but we can produce it independently. We extract synthetic fiber from coal and carbide.

South (LEE): Wouldn't that raise the cost... production cost?

North (KIM): What's bad about having a slightly higher production cost, as long as we produce with what we have..... We have expanded the current vinylon capacity from thirty thousand tons to fifty thousand tons.

South (LEE): Coal, limestone and synthetic fiber sounds like a significantly high production cost.

North (KIM): The production cost may be high. However, we are completely self-sufficient. We produce with our own resources... Lunch seems to be ready. Allow me to guide you to the dining area.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 106

[Source: Kim Il Sung Works, Volume 26. Pp. 134-ff]

ON THE THREE PRINCIPLES OF NATIONAL
REUNIFICATION

Conversations with the South Korean Delegates to the High-Level Political Talks between North and South Korea - *November 3, 1972*

2. ON ACHIEVING NORTH-SOUTH COOPERATION

It gives me pleasure to meet you south Korean delegates again. Last time one delegate came alone from the south Korean side. But this time you have come together. If the north and the south have frequent contacts of this kind, it will greatly assist towards the settlement of the question of national reunification, I think.

There was some progress in the work for national reunification after the publication of the North-South Joint Statement. In the past our people, torn apart in the north and the south, were even unable to meet each other. But, today delegates visit each other to hold discussions. This is already progress. If delegates of the north and the south visit and meet each other frequently, get acquainted and exchange views with each other, they can settle many problems for national reunification.

We must reunify the country as soon as possible at all costs. If we fail to reunify the country and keep it divided, our nation will remain partitioned for ever.

Our nation must not be divided in two. Koreans have lived as a single nation on one and the same territory from remote times. Our people are of one and the same blood and have one culture and history. The Korean people have a strong national spirit and a high national pride. Having occupied our country for 36 years, the Japanese imperialists even forced the Koreans to change their surnames in Japanese style, claiming that "Japan and Korea are one". But they could not succeed in making Japanese of the Koreans. How can such a nation be divided in two today? We must not allow our nation to be split but must reunify the country without fail within our generation. Brothers in both the north and the south must have the same desire for national reunification. I believe that you are visiting us because you, too, wish national reunification.

But, in spite of the North-South Joint Statement, "confrontation accompanied with dialogue" and "competition accompanied with dialogue" are being voiced as always by the press in south Korea. Confrontation or competition literally means contending with each other for victory. In that case, there will be a winner and a loser. Contending with another country or another nation might be a different matter. But one and the same nation should not engage in confrontation and competition. If this is done, it will be impossible to achieve national union and reunification.

The north and the south must cooperate, instead of engaging in confrontation and competition. Cooperation implies united efforts and joint work. Since the north-south dialogue has begun, I think it is time for cooperation now. The north and the south must not confine themselves to dialogue, but must go one step forward to cooperation.

When the north and the south cooperate with each other, the strength of the nation will grow as a result, and solid foundations for national reunification will be laid. Only when they work

together, can they overcome all their difficulties successfully and achieve the cause of reunification, the greatest national desire, sooner.

The north and the south should cooperate, to begin with, in the economic field.

If they begin with economic cooperation and work together step by step, they will be able to remove misunderstandings and understand each other better. If they merely say they trust each other, it will be impossible to know who has what in his mind. When working together, they will resolve misunderstood problems, trust each other better and achieve national unity.

Our country has a large population and rich natural resources. North-south cooperation will enable us to develop our national economy rapidly and make our country rich and strong. Economic cooperation between the two parts of the country will resolve the problem of the people's living conditions better, and our people will lead as happy a life as any others.

There is every potential for this economic cooperation. The north and the south can exploit mineral resources jointly, develop the division of labor and interchange and jointly use the results of scientific and technological resources.

The northern half of the Republic is very rich in mineral resources; deposits of iron ore, in particular, are immeasurable.

The Japanese imperialists are said to have plundered a great deal of our resources in the past. But they just licked the rind of a watermelon, so to speak. Our prospecting workers have discovered large iron ore deposits in the places where the Japanese imperialists said there was nothing. An iron ore deposit with an estimated amount of hundreds of millions of tons was recently discovered in Kaechon district and another with thousands of millions of tons was also found in South Hwanghae Province. There are colossal iron ore deposits in Pungsan and other northern inland areas. This is more than ten billion tons even according to the preliminary estimate made by our prospectors.

The quality of our iron ore is very high. All of it contains over 35 percent of iron. This indicates that it is of good quality by world standards. At present the Japanese envy us our iron ore.

The northern half of the country abounds, not only in iron ore, but also in other mineral resources such as lead, zinc and copper. In former days the Japanese imperialists claimed that there was no nickel in our country. However, we found it for ourselves later and are producing a great deal of alloys.

It is said that south Korea is building industry, but I presume that there are problems in supplying the raw materials it needs. You may import them, but why buy them from far-off foreign countries, when our country has inexhaustible resources? If the north and the south join hands and develop the abundant mineral resources, it will be possible to develop the metal and engineering industries and many other branches, without going to the trouble of importing raw materials.

We can increase the economic power of the nation only when we rely on our own raw materials in developing the engineering industry. Since immediately after liberation we have exerted great efforts to develop the engineering industry. The result is that it is on a very high level of development now. We can only maintain economic relations with other countries on an equal footing and improve the people's living standards when we develop the engineering industry and make machines for export

At present we export lorries, tractors and many other machines, and there is a large demand for them.

There are also abundant aquatic resources in the northern half of the Republic.

Every year 5-6 million tons of pollack swarm into our East Sea. This is the figure estimated by scientists and the exact amount still remains unknown. It is said that when their swarming is at its height, the shoal is 3,000 meters wide and 5,000 meters long and the depth is incalculable.

Although such a tremendous number of pollack rush in, shoal after shoal, we are in a position to catch only 600,000 tons at most. This means that we catch only 10 percent of the fish that surge in. According to scientists, the resources of pollack do not shrink even if up to 50 per cent are caught.

Therefore, we may catch 2.5 million tons of Pollack in our East Sea every year. If the fishermen in the north and the south pool their resources, it is possible to catch a great number of them. This will enable them all to prosper.

We deem it necessary that the north and the south divide work in the economic sphere. If the economy is developed through division of production between the north and the south, one producing this and the other producing that, this will markedly lighten the burdens of both sides and give them much benefit economically.

We should bring about north-south cooperation in the cultural sphere, too.

This alone will enable the Korean people to preserve their peculiar national traits as a homogeneous people and will ensure the uniform development of our national culture.

The north and the south should cooperate in the sphere of linguistics and develop our national language in a unified way. When people from both parts of the country meet and speak to each other, they find many words incomprehensible, and this sometimes causes misunderstandings between them. If the north-south language gap is enlarged, national division cannot be avoided. We should wholeheartedly prevent the language differences from causing our nation to be split into two different nations. Linguists in the north and the south should cooperate with each other in their research and development work for ensuring the unity of the spoken and written language. When they get together and discuss, they will be able to keep the virtues of our language alive and to develop them further.

In the sphere of science, too, the north and the south should carry out exchanges and cooperation. In the two zones there are many talented scientists. In one scientific branch the scientists in the north may be better informed than those in the south; and in another scientific branch the latter may be better informed. Therefore, if the scientists in the two zones combine their strength and

wisdom, they can achieve great success in scientific research and rapidly develop our country into a modern industrial state.

We should also bring about cooperation in the field of sports. If the north and the south cooperate in this sphere, they can achieve fine results in international contests. Our sportsmen register excellent results in international events even when taking part in them separately. If the north and the south form a single team and enter international games jointly, they will be able to attain supremacy. Basically, the Korean people have a strong fighting spirit. This is well known to the people of the world. In international events our sportsmen win games more often through their fighting spirit than through their technique. In future, we must see to it that a single team is formed with excellent players selected from the two zones to participate in Olympic and other international games.

The north and the south should cooperate with each other not only in the economic and cultural fields but also in the political domain.

Economic and cultural cooperation should naturally develop into political cooperation. Only when we cooperate with each other politically, can we effectively cooperate in both the economic and cultural fields.

You and we differ from each other in the methods of viewing things. So there will be difference in views in realizing cooperation. You look into each of the problems separately as if they were isolated. But we study things from the viewpoint that they are all interrelated, acting upon one another. All fields of society including politics, the economy, culture and military matters are related to one another and develop through interaction. This is a law of social movement. No social problem can be solved properly unless it is viewed in its relation to other problems. If political questions are to be settled, economic and cultural problems should be resolved and vice versa.

If the north and the south do not cooperate politically, their economic and cultural cooperation cannot be realized effectively, even though both sides wish this.

For instance, the problem of finding families and relatives separated in the north and the south now under discussion at the talks between the Red Cross organizations of the north and the south appears to be a simple question at first, but it cannot be settled easily so long as political distrust exists between both sides.

It is said that among the representatives from south Korea at the time of the north-south Red Cross talks there was one person who had a relative in the north. I was told that, when our officials asked him to meet his relative over here, he had declined to do so, saying that he would meet him later. I think this was because he was hesitant to see his relative in the northern half. I presume that at present there are people in south Korea who are reluctant to meet their relatives in the north and also those who make a secret of their relatives living in the north. This being so, the efforts of the north-south Red Cross organizations alone will not be enough to find the families and relatives scattered over the north and the south properly and help them meet each

other freely. So we consider that if this matter is to be settled satisfactorily, political cooperation must be realized between the north and the south.

The question of easing the tension between the north and the south and reducing armaments, too, can only be resolved when political cooperation is achieved.

As a matter of course, the problem of peacefully reunifying Korea without recourse to force of arms between the north and the south is clarified in the North-South Joint Statement. Although the joint statement declared that the north and the south would not resort to arms, both sides are continuing war preparations, for fear of possible war in the future. You continue to import guns with aid from the United States and we continue to manufacture them on our own. As long as this situation continues, tensions in our country cannot be eased. There are many soldiers in our country today, and the military burdens on our people are heavy. A total of 200,000 troops for north and south will be enough to defend the country from foreign invasion. If they cooperate politically, the north and the south can deepen their trust, ease tensions, reduce their military strength to some 100,000 men each and thus lighten the military burdens on the people.

Only when political cooperation is realized can all problems arising in the economic, cultural and military fields be settled. Therefore, we should not confine ourselves to economic and cultural cooperation, but go further to political cooperation.

Political cooperation is not a difficult problem at all. There is no reason why we should not cooperate politically. The existence of different systems in north and south is by no means an insurmountable barrier to political collaboration.

It seems that at present some people in south Korea consider socialism to be something to fear. But there is nothing to be afraid of.

We set off to build socialism after the war. I proposed a task of building socialism in the theses published in April 1955.

The building of socialism was urgently required in view of the situation in our country after the war. The three year war reduced towns and villages to ashes and utterly destroyed industry and agriculture.

During the war, most middle and rich peasants in the countryside had become bankrupt, to say nothing of the poor peasants and handicraftsmen. Traders and manufacturers, too, had been reduced to the same plight that handicraftsmen or small traders were in. In a word, they could scarcely earn a living without pooling their efforts, and, they urgently demanded cooperativization. Hence, we advanced the policy of cooperativizing the individual economy in town and country and carried it out strictly according to the principle of free choice. We did not expropriate rich peasants in the countryside and private traders and industrialists in towns, but drew them into socialist cooperatives and made them builders of socialism.

We were short of draught cattle, farm implements and manpower after the war. Even under this difficult situation we effected agricultural cooperativization and pooled the peasants' efforts,

with the result that we were able to carry out irrigation projects on a large scale and develop the rural economy quickly.

I will not go into details of the advantages of the socialist system set up in the northern half of the Republic. When south Koreans witness the situation here in the north in the future, they will know that the socialist system is not something to fear but is a good system. So, there is no reason why the north and the south cannot realize political collaboration and unity.

I consider it reasonable to effect the north-south Confederation in carrying out political collaboration between north and south.

The north-south Confederation we propose is to set up a unified state leaving the present political systems both in north and south as they are for the time being. Representatives of all political parties and social organizations, delegates of all sections and prominent figures will get together to organize a Supreme National Council, in which they will jointly discuss and decide on important problems for the development of the nation and carry out activities in the international arena in the name of a single state. This is precisely what the Confederation will be. It would be a good idea to call the confederal state the Confederal Republic of Koryo, after Koryo which is well known to the world. This Confederation will make it possible to fully realize contact and collaboration between the north and the south through out all spheres and increase the international prestige of our nation.

Why should we, a homogeneous nation, enter the international arena as two states? I will not agree to the separate entry of north and south into the UN as long as our country remains divided.

I think we shall reach better agreement if we discuss specific matters concerning the Confederation further in future.

You say that you also have no objection to bringing about political, economic and cultural collaboration between the north and the south. This being so, you must strive to put it into practice quickly.

In achieving collaboration between north and south it is important to discard each other's misunderstandings and mistrust. Smiling outwardly whilst inwardly misunderstanding and distrusting each other will not solve the matter. Both sides should remove each other's misunderstandings and distrust; this is the only way to achieve the north-south collaboration quickly, I believe.

We will believe you since the south Korean authorities say that they will push US troops out and will not bring in the Japanese. The question is that the south Korean side misunderstands and distrusts us. We are fellow countrymen gathered here; so, if there is anything about which you are doubtful, you should tell us frankly. If you conceal your disagreement and just read out the prepared statement before returning south, it is impossible to remove misunderstanding. In order to dispel misunderstanding we must speak honestly.

If they are to achieve unity and cooperation the north and the south must refrain from abusing and slandering each other. We are being patient with regard to the slanders of the south Korean authorities against us. If you really want collaboration with us, you must stop your anti-communist propaganda. Since we are desirous of collaborating with the south Korean side, we will not slander you.

When I met the south Korean representative last time, I said it would be better to form and run a kind of north-south joint commission so as to coordinate north-south relations properly and solve problems arising in reunifying the country successfully. We should form a north-south coordination commission on this occasion. I do not think there will be any great problems in doing this. We should form it quickly and operate it properly.

The coordination commission must not indulge in empty talk but coordinate north-south relations properly and steadily solve various problems arising in national reunification one by one. It would be a good idea if, upon the formation of the commission, both sides, in token of mutual trust, were to take measures to cut down their respective armed forces, set political prisoners free and guarantee freedom of activity to political parties.

The door between the north and the south, which has now been opened, must not be closed again. If it is closed again, we shall be blamed by the people of the world as well as by our nation.

Once we have opened the door and begun to tackle the task, we should acquit ourselves well of it and raise the honour of the Korean nation before the whole world.

The sooner the country's reunification is achieved, the better. If we delay the solution of the reunification question indefinitely, there will be nothing to our advantage. We should, all of us, work together and reunify the country as early as possible.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 107

[Source: PoIA AA, MfAA, C 951/76. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer]

GDR Embassy to DPRK
Political Department
Pyongyang, 08 November 1972

Note
on an Information by the Head of the 1st Department of the DPRK Foreign Ministry,
Comrade Kim Chae-Suk, on 31 October 1972 for Ambassadors and Acting Ambassadors of the
GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria

The 2nd Secretary of the Embassy, Comrade Barthel, attended this briefing on behalf of the GDR Embassy in the DPRK since Acting Ambassador Comrade Merten was not available.

The head of the 1st Department began he requested the presence of the Ambassadors and Acting Ambassadors to inform about the course of the 3rd Main Negotiation of the Red Cross talks between North and South Korea on 24 October 1972 [in Pyongyang].

He explained that negotiations were held in public in the morning and during a closed session in the afternoon. After the recent declaration of martial law in South Korea they took place in difficult times. For both sides the 3rd Main Negotiation served the purpose to state their opinions and proposals about the first item on the Red Cross talks' agenda, namely the search for separated relatives. The DPRK expressed its position that issues on the agenda of the Red Cross talks will only be solved conclusively when the question of Korea's unification is settled as well. It argued that those problems are a result of the country's division, and therefore they can only be solved through overcoming this division. In contrast, the South Korean side just made proposals limited to strictly humanitarian issues. Then Comrade Kim explained the DPRK's five basic principles and four proposals on the first agenda item, as already known through press publications. He stated that those principles fully reflect the desires of the nation and are in accordance with the spirit of the Joint Declaration of North and South from the 4th of July and the principles of humanity.

Concerning the position taken by the South Korean side he declared, as stated above, that it was limited to purely humanitarian questions. The South Koreans argued the Red Cross is a humanitarian organization based on the principles of humanity and neutrality. Thus the South Korean Red Cross could only provide helpful services, but not contribute towards removing legal and social obstacles to a solution on the question of searches for relatives, as demanded by the DPRK. The South Korean side just proposed to establish an office in Panmunjeom and organize an exchange of forms to identify the existence and addresses of separated relatives. He [Kim] commented, apparently the South Koreans are afraid of meetings between their people and DPRK citizens.

The South Korean side dismissed the DPRK's proposals to remove legal and social obstacles to a search for separated relatives as not relevant to the issue. It said with such proposals the DPRK would violate previous agreements. During the closed afternoon session the DPRK protested against this slander and criticized the South Korean side for its superficial proposals. Its slander of the DPRK would be tantamount to non-compliance with previous agreements. Therefore the DPRK repeated its proposals during the closed session. The South Koreans justified their position with the argument that the Red Cross is not legitimized to convey South Korean official political statements or implement social changes. They recognized that the issues to be solved by the Red Cross are closely related to the country's unification but they refused to commit to further steps. Following a South Korean demand, negotiations were subsequently adjourned. As already reported to the press, there was agreement to admit five more journalists each to the next round of negotiations.

Comrade Kim elaborated that the “adversary” attempted to solicit DPRK opinions on the declaration of martial law in South Korea during unofficial conversations. Such exchanges came about on the initiative of the South Koreans. There they contended that the announcement of those [emergency] measures [in the ROK] was actually supportive to the Red Cross talks and would contribute towards achieving the goal of Korean unification.

Then Comrade Kim made further remarks about some marginal occurring during the stay of the South Korean delegation. According to DPRK assessment, about 50 percent of delegation members and 80 percent of journalists were agents of South Korean intelligence services. It turned out that they did not speak their opinions freely when they appeared in groups. Yet in individual conversations, like during a car ride, a major part of the delegates made respectful statements about the *Juche* idea of Comrade Kim Il Sung. One journalist said that no Korean is against the *Juche* idea of Comrade Kim Il Sung. South Koreans as well despise pandering towards great powers and are against a dependence on foreigners. One adviser to the delegation asked for books about the revolutionary personal history of Comrade Kim Il Sung and for his collected works to study, as he said, the *Juche* idea of Comrade Kim Il Sung. Another adviser stated: “Every Korean knows that Kim Il Sung conducted a long and hard anti-Japanese struggle and everybody respects him for that. The policy of Comrade Kim Il Sung is a good policy for the people. We South Koreans have been raised as anti-communists. Yet if that, what we saw in North Korea, is communism then this is not bad. Kim Il Sung is a true man of the people, and the Korean people should be proud and happy to have him.”

Another example for how respectful members of the South Korean delegation and the journalists behaved towards the *Juche* idea of Comrade Kim Il Sung: During the visit to the great museum of the Korean Revolution one journalist continuously taped the explanations presented by the guides. Some South Koreans stated the Korean communists are actually the real patriots. When they visited the opera “O Forest – Please Tell Us” a major part of them were moved to tears. Some of them said the South Korean young people under the age of 28 no longer know what home and nation means. Unification must come about during the lifetime of Comrade Kim Il Sung without foreign interference and in an independent process. Through this visit the delegation could enrich its knowledge about the DPRK and was impressed about its superiority. Yet there also were some delegation members and journalists who were “reactionary gangsters and anti-communists”. For instance, one of them made a statement by walking out of the movie “The Girl from the Diamond Mountains” and locked himself in his room because this movie shows the responsibility of U.S. imperialists for Korea’s division.

In conclusion, Comrade Kim informed that the next round of negotiations will be held on 22 November 1972 in Seoul. The DPRK is expecting controversial discussions due to serious differences in respective proposals. Despite sticking to its principled positions, the DPRK is still eager to achieve a positive conclusion of these negotiations as soon as possible. Kim requested the support of socialist fraternal countries for the DPRK to isolate the South Korean puppets and this way exert pressure on them.

Note: In the course of his statement Comrade Kim frequently used terms like “the adversary” and “puppets”.

Barthel
2nd Secretary
Initialed: Merten

CC:
1x Foreign Ministry, Far Eastern Department
1x Central Committee, Department IV
1x Embassy, Political Department

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 108

[Source: PolA AA, MfAA, C 951/76. Obtained for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer and translated for NKIDP by Karen Riechert]

GDR Embassy to DPRK
Political Department
Pyongyang, 9 November 1972

Note

On an Information by DPRK Deputy Foreign Minister

Comrade Lee Manseok on 8 November 1972 for the Ambassadors of Czechoslovakia and Poland and the Acting Ambassadors of the GDR in the Foreign Ministry

Comrade Lee Manseok informed the comrades in attendance about the results of the 2nd Session of the Coordination Committee North-South in Pyongyang between 2 and 4 November 1972. Based on a written manuscript he outlined the following:

When analyzing the behavior of the North Korean side, we have to conclude that their main focus is to stay in power and cement the status quo. During the meeting's first day already, it was notable that the South organs were not prepared for negotiations and focused only on those questions raised from our side. The North Korean delegation spoke first. We talked about the question of coexistence and cooperation and actively raised the role of the Coordination Committee North-South. The South Korean side was unable to propose concrete measures.

Right after his arrival, Lee Hurak stated his wish to talk with the dear and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung. He [Lee] requested to organize for himself to be received by him [Kim Il Sung]. On 3 November the dear and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung received before the resumption of talks Lee Hurak and his entourage and outlined the DPRK position in programmatic fashion.

After he had proposed last time [during his meeting with Lee Hurak in June 1972] the three principles and concrete paths towards independent peaceful unification, this time he talked about specific measures and made smart proposals for cooperation between North and South on

various areas. General Secretary Comrade Kim Il Sung stated that dialogue between North and South has to be a dialogue in the name of cooperation and unification rather than of confrontation and division. The Coordination Committee is an organ of cooperation and not of confrontation. Initially it is necessary to cooperate on economic and cultural fields and later on political ones as well. Regarding the question of economic cooperation, General Secretary Comrade Kim Il Sung explained how there are many unemployed in South Korea and how they are sold to other countries. Such actions have to come to a halt. There is the option to mine resources through joint labor. On a basis of economic exchange between North and South we have the option to employ South Korean unemployed. The North could deliver machines, equipment, iron ore and other mineral resources; the South could export to the North products from agriculture and light industries. There is also the possibility of joint fishery with free usage of the seas of both the North and the South. The North could help the South in the building of irrigation systems based on extensive Northern experiences in this field. We could develop a division of labor between North and South. On the question of cooperation in the areas of science and culture, General Secretary Kim Il Sung stated that, for instance, the mother language in South Korea is permeated with Japanese and American terms. With joint efforts by linguistic experts from both sides the language could be unified and problems of science and culture solved.

On military cooperation Kim Il Sung proposed the option to reduce arms, military production, and the number of armed forces. We could agree that both South and North Korea will have an army of 100,000 men each sufficient for the defense of the country.

Concerning political cooperation Comrade Kim Il Sung proposed to create a system of confederation. While maintaining the socialist order in the North and the social order in the South, we can build a confederation and create comprehensive cooperation and broad exchange in political, economic, cultural, and military areas.

If Lee Hwak would have rejected these proposals by General Secretary Comrade Kim Il Sung he would have shown his true face of a traitor to the nation. For that reason he replied that everything said represents a good and necessary cause. He raised no objections against the building of a confederation. Although he had not eyed himself the need for a confederation, he said it is possible that Park Chung Hee might see its necessity. After his departure to Seoul he will inform Park Chung Hee about his talk with General Secretary Kim Il Sung. Thus we can assess that the proposals of the dear and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung have been accepted by the South Korean side.

Guided by the line as instructed by General Secretary Kim Il Sung concerning cooperation between North and South, we talked at the meeting about basic questions mandatory to be solved in order to realize the cooperation.

For the realization of cooperation between North and South we proposed to realize the primary requirements of halting the anti-communist policy, implementing the withdrawal of American forces, and to end the revived aggression of Japanese imperialism in South Korea. In South Korea you need to allow for broad democracy, to secure political freedoms for the people's masses, like freedom of speech, press freedom, right of assembly, to organize, to demonstrate,

etc.; to facilitate political activities of opposition parties, and to release political prisoners. We demand that the activities of those in South Korea will have to be made illegal that come out against peaceful unification. Lee Hurak refrained from giving a comprehensive answer. He agreed that anti-communist propaganda must end, and he stated that after elections and the adoption of the constitution restrictions against political parties will be lifted. The South Korean side will review the question of releasing political prisoners. We added to our proposal that, if the prisoners cannot be released right away, one ought to at least halt executions. Lee Hurak agreed to review this request.

According to the line provided by the dear and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, the “Agreement on Composition and Protocol of the Coordination Committee North-South” and its joint announcement was passed and made public accordingly. The North Korean draft proposal for both documents was approved in principle by the South Korean side.

During the talks the South Korean side argued against an authoritative Coordination Committee that could fully claim its functions. The South Koreans objected to a clear outline on questions of cooperation between South and North as one of the Coordination Committee’s assignments, and against an exact framework for its members and their roles. It was the South Korean aim to delay solutions to this question and to create a crippled institution. We insisted that the Coordination Committee must consist of representatives with the rank of Ministers or their deputies in order to turn it into an authoritative organ. Ultimately a decision was made according to our proposal.

During negotiations it was also discussed to end the future broadcasts directed to the other side of the country and along the DMZ, and to refrain from dropping leaflets on the other side’s territory. The South Korean side informed that anti-communism and polemics ad slander against the North will end. They requested us to act accordingly. We agreed with this.

While drafting the agreement and the public announcement we had tedious discussions about the problem of cooperation between North and South. The South demanded not to include the term “cooperation between North and South” in the public announcement. They argued the term “cooperation” is a reminder to the cooperation between the Chinese Communist Party and the Guomindang Party which ultimately resulted in turning China into a communist country. This phrase, they said, will be perceived negatively by the educated elite in South Korea. Therefore it was agreed to choose a true Korean term for cooperation that can be translated as “working jointly with united force”. We hold the opinion that this term essentially expresses the same what we had proposed. Thus the South Korean side was forced to acknowledge the issue of cooperation as proposed by Kim Il Sung, and to undertake another step towards the realization of the Joint Declaration. As evidence for the complicated discussions we had, there was the fact that the South Korean delegation initially wanted to fly out of Pyongyang at 900 hours but eventually left at 1300 hours.

During the talks Lee Hurak proposed to hold talks between both sides on the highest level. Yet both sides agreed that such talks are not realistic any more during the current year though they might be realized in the future.

Note: Probably this refers to a meeting between Kim Il Sung and Park Chung Hee.

In general we can say, Comrade Lee Manseok continued, the 2nd Session was successful. It will be interesting to watch how the South Korean side will implement the tasks we agreed upon. The South Korean side treats these questions very formally, they want to fix the status quo, and thus they are not sincerely interested in implementing the tasks. For these reasons we think that a long and tough struggle is still ahead of us.

Comrade Lee Manseok then commented on the DPRK positions towards the state of national emergency and constitutional revisions in South Korea. He stated the following:

The essence of declaring a state of national emergency and to revise the constitution reflects the aim to secure Park Chung Hee's stay in power for a long time, to repress the political parties, and to level the score in the [North-South] talks to 1:1. According to the constitution, they will form a "National Assembly of Unification and *Juche*" to elect the President. His term will be unlimited. As a pretext to change the constitution Park Chung Hee declared such necessary to conduct the dialogue [with the North], as the old constitution would contain anti-communist provisions.

The KWP Political Committee frequently discussed whether we should condemn events in the South, or whether we should wait with this. We are of the opinion that, if we condemn the events, the currently open door between North and South will be slammed and shut. As a consequence, the country would continue to be divided. Therefore we have arrived at the conclusion not to provoke the closing of this door. If we criticize their [the South Koreans'] actions, it will result in further repression of the opposition parties. This way we would lose both options [BS: peaceful unification and Southern uprising]. The South Korean side has only opened the door to the North since it was forced to do so. Currently it is looking for reasons to withdraw from this commitment. It is our conclusion that we must not provide them with a pretext: This way we will lose all opportunities to unfold in South Korea the activities of political opposition parties, and other activities as well. This year of travel between North and South was helpful for us as we gained option to exert a certain direct influence. This is why we changed our original plan to publish an article condemning the emergency measures in South Korea. We criticize them fiercely internally in the country without letting this criticism filter into the public. We have the intention to continue with implementing our line with patience, and to further develop the peaceful offensive.

In conclusion of this information, Comrade Lee Manseok asked the fraternal countries to continue their active support for the struggle of the Korean people, to exert pressure on the puppets in the South and to isolate them, and thus contribute to the continuation of the [North-South] dialogue. Naturally, the conduct of this dialogue will remain an internal matter of the Korean people.

In response to this statement, the Czechoslovak ambassador thanked in the name of the comrades in attendance for the provided briefing.

Merten
Acting Ambassador

CC:

1x Foreign Ministry, Far Eastern Department
1x Central Committee, Department IV
1x Embassy, Political Department

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 109

[Source: PoIA AA, MfAA, C 951/76. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer]

GDR Embassy to DPRK
Political Department
Pyongyang, 1 December 1972

Note

on Information by DPRK Deputy Foreign Minister
Comrade Lee Manseok on 28 November 1972 for the Ambassadors and Acting Ambassadors of
Poland, Czechoslovakia and the GDR
Between 1200 and 1330 hours in the Foreign Ministry

Comrade Lee Manseok informed based on a written manuscript about the 4th session of Red Cross negotiations, as well as about the referendum held in South Korea and ensuing changes in its constitution. Comrade Lee Manseok said about the following:

The 4th session of Red Cross negotiations was held on 22 November 1972 in Seoul. Due to the overall situation a fierce class struggle erupted during this 4th session. It occurred at a time when the leader, Comrade Kim Il Sung, has proclaimed a course of comprehensive cooperation with the South. Yet the South Korean puppet clique has declared the state of war after a prior declaration of a state of national emergency. They also changed the constitution in South Korea. The ballots [for the constitutional referendum] were opened the day our delegation arrived. The agents of Park Chung Hee's puppet clique were lined up every 10 meters along the street and controlled the passers-by. Initially the 4th session was scheduled for 21 November but the enemies moved it to 22 November. They combined the day of the session with the vote for the referendum. The enemies want to achieve a consolidation of the nation around Park Chung Hee. They wanted to sell the welcome of our delegation by the South Korean people as a support for the referendum. We agreed with moving the 4th session from the 21st to the 22nd and delivered to the enemies a strong political blow.

The meeting was held behind closed doors. During negotiations we discussed the already known first agenda item of the main negotiations – the search for separated families and identification of their addresses. Our delegation repeated again in more concrete terms the proposals made already during the 3rd session of the Red Cross talks in Pyongyang. We suggested including our compatriots living in Japan into the search for separated families and the identification of their

addresses. In conjunction with the search for addresses of separated families and relatives we demanded guarantees for expressions of free will by the people concerned and for the safeguard of their democratic rights. The South Korean side, however, opposed these proposals. They rejected the guarantee of democratic and social liberties and opted against direct searches of, and contact with, the families. The South Koreans proposed to conduct the search for families with the help of questionnaires only. This would be in accordance with international rules of the International Red Cross, they said. Our delegation responded that not every international custom of the Red Cross is adaptable to discussions of internal national issues.

Except for the idea concerning the questionnaire, the South Korean side did not come up with any other proposal. Then our delegation proposed to establish a joint organ of the two Red Cross societies and a joint office at Panmunjeom. The South Koreans agreed in principle with our proposals.

Following a South Korean request, our delegation agreed to set up via phone the dates for the 5th and 6th session of Red Cross negotiations. A group of experts was tasked with working out a draft for a joint agreement. The South Koreans suggested establishing a sub-committee in Panmunjeom so they do not have to travel to Pyongyang or Seoul. Although the respective organs, which were ultimately agreed upon, are not yet operating, the solution of one problem after the next will result in the ideological unmasking of the South Korean representatives.

During its stay in South Korea our delegation visited two chemical factories, two department stores, and a movie theater. Lee Hurak gave a dinner for our delegation. The South Korean side undertook all kinds of efforts to minimize the influence of our delegation on the South Korean people as much as possible. For instance, initially it was agreed with our delegation that Lee Hurak will host a reception. Yet there was just a dinner. Representatives of South Korean political parties and social organizations were excluded from this dinner. During the visits to the factories which just lasted for a few minutes, our representatives could not have any conversations with South Korean workers. The secret police shielded our delegation from the population.

At the same time during our delegation's stay there was a broad "anti-communist" campaign going on in South Korea and serious provocations were organized. For instance, on 22 November South Korean cadets demanded the democratic unification of the country without one of the current two systems serving as a framework. Instead unification should occur on the basis of "material prosperity" and the "victory over communism".

Also a South Korean aspirant named Suh Sin-hee was sentenced to death. Furthermore there were attacks and slander against our delegation in the South Korean press. By all this the South Korean side aims at stimulating its people with a feeling of enmity towards the DPRK.

Our delegation was taken to an anti-communist movie performance and demonstratively walked out of the auditorium. After the protest of our delegation, the South Korean side admitted that this step with the movie was not correct. In the future something like that will not happen again, they said.

The 4th session was fierce class struggle for our delegation. The enemy suffered hard blows. Thanks to the active assertiveness of our representatives the South Korean side was pushed into a passive role. This way we were able to increase our influence on the South Korean people.

Everywhere the DPRK delegation was welcomed by South Korean people with emotions running high. Individual people secretly sneaked to our representatives to express their respect and reverence for Comrade Kim Il Sung and their love for the leader. They talked full of hope that they will soon be united with the North under the leadership of Comrade Kim Il Sung.

Then Comrade Lee Manseok stated the DPRK's expectation towards the socialist countries to further unmask the South Korean puppet clique and exert pressure on them in the international arena.

Comrade Lee Manseok finally addressed the referendum held in South Korea and made the following statements:

The fuzz made by the South Korean puppet clique about the large turnout and the broad approval of the constitutional changes is stupid and cynical. It has never happened during the entire history of the Far East that you could voice your opinion freely during a state of national emergency or of war. So far all elections in South Korea have been fraudulent. The South Korean people were not allowed to state their opinion about the draft constitution as such was blocked by special orders. The election result was rigged. The new constitution was implemented under the cover of peaceful unification. In reality, however, it is a reactionary document to solidify the dictatorship and the power of one single person.

Comrade Lee Manseok further declared that the DPRK is expecting from our countries to expose this constitution. Third countries must continue with their unmasking of the South Korean puppet clique irrespective of the dialogue between South and North Korea. The socialist fraternal countries must continue to isolate the South Korean puppet clique in the international arena. This will create favorable conditions for the continuation of the [inter-Korean] dialogue.

Responding to a question by the Polish ambassador about the content of the new constitution in South Korea, Comrade Lee Manseok declared:

Although the draft of the South Korean constitution does not contain explicit anti-communism, in reality anti-communism continues in South Korea in practical terms. The fact that explicit anti-communism has been left out from the draft is a result of pressure from the DPRK and the South Korean people on the South Korean regime.

Yet the slander against the DPRK and the patriotic people in South Korea is continuing. The entire constitution is an evil deception. With this Park Chung Hee has achieved in concentrating the power in his hands for a long time.

At the end Comrade Lee Manseok thanked for the attention to his statements.

Hofer

Attache
Initialed: Merten

CC:
1x Foreign Ministry, Far Eastern Department
1x Central Committee, Department IV
1x Embassy

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 110

[Source: PoIA AA, MfAA, C 951/76. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer]

GDR Embassy to DPRK
Political Department
Pyongyang, 12 December 1972

Note
on an Information by DPRK Deputy Foreign Minister
Comrade Lee Jin Mok on 9 December 1972 for the
Ambassadors and Acting Ambassadors of Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania,
and the GDR between 1000 and 1125 hours

Comrade Lee Jin Mok informed the attendants based on a written manuscript about the third meeting of the Joint Chairmen of the Coordination Committee and about the 1st Session of the Coordination Committee South – North on 13 November in Seoul.

Comrade Lee Jin Mok reported about the following:

Both meetings were held in closed sessions. There had been agreement between South and North to hold the 1st Session of the Coordination Committee in Seoul. Our side agreed to conclude the third meeting of the Joint Chairmen with a public announcement on the formation of the Coordination Committee, and then start right away with the opening of the 1st Session of this committee. The formation of a Coordination Committee had been agreed upon earlier.

The 1st Session of the Coordination Committee lasted for two days. On the first day our side gave a general address. The second day the South Koreans had their say. In our speech we went more concretely on proposals we already tabled during the second meeting of the Joint Chairmen, including questions on reduction of armed forces. During the 1st Session our side took completely the initiative. We had to notice that the adversary had not studied the proposals we previously made during the second meeting in Pyongyang.

As the dear and beloved leader had taught, one must trust each other in order to serve the great cause of the nation. Reduction of armed forces and the end of the arms race are expressions of such trust.

However, the South Koreans did not address our proposals. Then the enemy side declared that this question must be resolved once the level of trust between both sides has increased.

The South Korean side blabbered that it is buying arms since all along the border there had been attacks by the DPRK against South Korea. Thus it would be dangerous to reduce the armed forces. We refuted the preposterous claims of the enemies and stated that actually there had been attacks from South Korea towards the Northern side. We demanded from the enemies to refrain in the future from this kind of statement.

U.S. imperialism is still occupying South Korea. Spy plane over-flights and surveillance from respective ships is conducted against the Northern part of the republic. There is no DPRK intention to attack the South. The Korean People's Army is of defensive character against U.S. imperialism. We do not intend to impose our opinion on the South Korean side. Yet we will consequently pursue the goal to lower the mistrust between each other.

The South Korean side stated, however, that mistrust towards the Northern part is still strong among [South Korean] people. For that reason we cannot talk about disarmament yet. In any case, this question must be resolved on higher levels, they said.

We made more detailed proposals for concrete steps of cooperation between North and South. We suggested starting with the field of culture. First we should conduct joint analysis of the language, and then cooperate jointly in the fields of art and historical research. We further proposed joint movie production, to field joint sports teams, and to create a respective committee to coordinate cultural cooperation.

Concerning cooperation in economic areas we offered joint exploitation of iron ore resources in the North. Also we proposed a joint search for mineral resources in the South, a joint fishery, to build irrigation projects in the South, and to create a respective committee for economic cooperation. However, the side of the enemy did not respond to our proposals.

They replied to limit cooperation only to a few selected cultural and economic projects and gradually increase this cooperation. Economic cooperation, according to the enemy side, should consist in an exchange of trade. There could not be cooperation in certain cultural areas as those touches on ideological questions. Therefore this would be extraordinarily difficult, they said. Also the South Korea side declared that there is no need for a joint organ on cultural cooperation.

We proposed to publish a joint announcement about the meeting. The South Koreans agreed, yet insisted to include only secondary issues in the announcement.

Comrade Lee Jin Mok then addressed this meanwhile published Joint Announcement and continued: Our side rose during the meeting the question of ending the slander against the Northern part. We declared we will act reciprocally if the South Korean side halts its slanders

against us. Yet the side of the enemy attempted to camouflage the slander against us with the argument that not all broadcast and print media can be controlled in the South. We [in North Korea] would have it much easier, as all broadcast and print mass media are under state control. Therefore we should stop our slandering of the South. We retorted if this is the case, then why did the South Korean side initially accept the agreement about the cessation of mutual slander? With this question we completely pushed the other side into a cul-de-sac.

Deputy Minister [Lee Jin Mok] reported the following on Pak Seongcheol's reception by Park Chung Hee: At the meeting with Park Chung Hee five people each were present on both sides. The talk lasted 30 minutes. We stated that unification by our own force must be achieved at all costs. Yet the main preconditions are mutual trust and disarmament. We asked Park Chung Hee what he wants to do in this regard. He did not respond to the content of this question. He just remarked one has to approach the tasks step by step. Today the North as well as the South does employ armed forces whose maintenance exceeds the potential of both sides. Yet the time has not matured to discuss questions of disarmament. It has to be addressed at a different time. Currently issues of [Inter-Korean] rapprochement must be dealt with in the Red Cross negotiations. In the economic field issues of trade between both Korean parts ought to be addressed.

These remarks by Park Chung Hee absolutely demonstrated that the enemies follow duplicitous tactics. They show that they have no interest in the country's unification whatsoever. They just want to negotiate with us about some accumulation of forces and coexistence. This way they want to harness us. The South Korean side is afraid about socialist influence from the North on its people. Though this is not our goal, we do intend to democratize society in South Korea and ignore their duplicity.

As the dear and beloved leader stated, we will not allow the enemies to shut the door pushed open through our pressure.

In answering questions by the ambassadors of Poland and Bulgaria, Comrade Lee Jin Mok also stated this:

- The question of diplomatic cooperation was not addressed during the 1st Session of the Coordination Committee. It was only briefly touched during the discussion on questions of cultural cooperation.
- The issue of foreign credits also played no role in the talks. We are able to build irrigation projects with our own people, and with our own material. Yet in ignorance of this the enemies attempt to solicit foreign aid.
- Influential circles in Japan have come out in favor of recognizing the DPRK. Yet the South Korean government attempts to undermine this. Under the cover of peaceful unification of the country, the South Korean puppets try to enhance their international prestige. Given these conditions, it is of great importance that the fraternal countries continue to unmask the South Korean puppets in the international arena. This will support the struggle of the DPRK people.

Erich Merten

Acting Ambassador

CC:

1x Foreign Ministry

1x Central Committee, Department IV

1x Embassy

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 111

[Source: PoIA AA, MfAA, C 295/78. Obtained for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer and translated for NKIDP by Karen Riechert.]

GDR Embassy to DPRK
- Political Department -
Pyongyang, 28 March 1973

N o t e

on a Conversation with Comrade Kurbatov, 1st Secretary of the USSR Embassy, on 26 March 1973 in the USSR Embassy

Comrade Kurbatov informed in this conversation about his recent visit to Beijing where he exchanged opinions about PRC-DPRK relations with the comrades of the USSR Embassy in Beijing, among others with Comrade Ambassador Tolstikov.

The Soviet comrades in Beijing including Comrade Tolstikov are firmly convinced that the Chinese are not interested in Korean unification.

There are facts bolstering this opinion. Causes for the lack of Chinese interest into a unified Korea are that a unified Korea with a population of 50 million would become an important political factor and stress its independence even stronger. In addition, it would be led by a man like Kim Il Sung who would not limit his leadership ambitions to Korea.

Chinese policy aims at having small countries along its borders. Therefore, China would also be interested in the division of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

Though Chinese propaganda supports the DPRK concerning the unification of the country and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea, China is only prepared to support North Korean requests as long as the DPRK supports positions and policies of the Chinese. The Chinese would support Korean unification only if they had guarantees that a unified Korea would follow a pro-Chinese course.

It is noteworthy that the PRC increases pressure on the DPRK in order to push it towards a pro-Chinese course. The DPRK currently supports the PRC, for example, on foreign policy issues like Chinese policy vis-à-vis capitalist states.

However, there are also contradictions in PRC-DPRK relations. For example, there is so far no agreement to sort out border issues. Also both countries have different positions regarding the role of the Soviet Union. Yet both countries are interested not to touch upon these questions in their bilateral talks. The Chinese pursue primarily their own interests. The DPRK does not appear to be fully pleased with the results of Ho Dam's visit to Beijing. The PRC does not subscribe to DPRK interests in every respect, like the question of the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea. Apparently the DPRK expected more from the Chinese talks with Kissinger. The Chinese were said not to have insisted enough on the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea.

Close attention also has to be paid how future relations between PRC and South Korea might come about.

Comrade Kurbatov also reported that the division head for the USSR in the DPRK Foreign Ministry had informed him: At the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the DPRK's foundation on 9 September there will be grand events, and there are plans to invite party and government delegations from the socialist countries.

Merten
Embassy Counselor

CC:

1x Foreign Ministry/Far East/2
1x Foreign Ministry/Far East – China Section
1x Central Committee/Department IV
1x Embassy

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 112

[Source: PolA AA, MfAA. Obtained and translated for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer.]

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Department for Neighboring Countries
Section People's Republic of Poland (PRP)

To: Far Eastern Department
From: Embassy Warsaw, for your information and files.

Excerpt from Warsaw Embassy Information Report 34/73 from 3 July 1973.

Berlin, 16 July 1973.

On the Visit of a PRP Party and Parliamentary Delegation to the DPRK

Between 30 May and 5 June 1973, a party and parliamentary delegation of the PRP headed by Comrade Stanislaw Kania, candidate of the politburo and secretary of the PZPR central committee, visited the DPRK. As the deputy head of the PZPR International Department, Comrade Suika informed the delegation that he had no instructions to deal with concrete issues of bilateral cooperation. Instead the visit was about gathering information on positions of the DPRK on important questions of current international developments.

The visit was considered useful. It succeeded in learning about Korean positions. Yet this was not the result of official talks. Here the DPRK representatives gave only general and stereotypical answers to questions from the Polish side. For that reason, the Polish delegation decided to use its scheduled courtesy visit with Kim Il Sung to obtain more information. The conversation lasted about 3.5 hours. As Comrade Suika remarked, it was a frank talk and Kim Il Sung proved himself to be an open and rational person. Comrade Suika added that in the DPRK there exists a tightly structured system of information. Even politburo members only repeat Kim Il Sung's statements without being able to comment on them. All statements Kim Il Sung made during our meeting were steno-graphed and distributed in the KWP central committee apparatus as actual political instructions. The day after their meeting with Kim, the Polish comrades noted changes in positions of their partners and how many issues were now commented with the same phrases Kim Il Sung had used during the meeting.

[...] Kim Il Sung explained that the DPRK and KWP had, and have, arguments with the PRC and the CCP. Even before the Cultural Revolution, neither the thesis "let 100 flower bloom", nor the peoples' communes movement, nor the labeling of the Soviet Union as an "imperialist country" were supported. The USSR is the first country of socialism, the revolution originated there. Korea has learned from the Soviet Union about Marxism-Leninism and the principles of building socialism. The PRC applied pressure on the DPRK but we did not bend. They called us revisionists. Along the border the Chinese installed loudspeakers calling on our people to abandon the revisionist regime of Kim Il Sung. The DPRK did not react to that: "That does not turn us into opportunists but just perseverant Marxist-Leninists." In the North the DPRK has two large socialist states as neighbors. In the South there is imperialist Japan and a more than one million strong army of our enemy. If we provide hints about bad relations with our socialist neighbors in the North, it weakens our position vis-à-vis the enemy in the South. You [Poles] are far away but we have a border with the PRC.

The KWP had an invitation to the recent party congress in Albania but in the end we did not send a delegation since they anticipated attacks against the Soviet Union and also against Poland. And indeed, at the congress a [pro-Maoist exile fringe] chairman from a "Communist Party of Poland" spoke.

The KWP delegation that attended Ho Chi Minh's funeral [in September 1969] once held talks in Beijing on its way back. On the agenda was the improvement of relations with the PRC. The Korean side had listed two basic conditions in order to achieve that.

- Non-interference in the internal affairs of the DPRK – including the dismantling of the speakers along the border;
- Non-interference in DPRK relations with the Soviet Union.

The PRC accepted both, and since then relations improved. The DPRK does not allow on its territory any insults against either the USSR or the PR China. The DPRK wants to do everything in its power for the unity of the communist world movement and the socialist states.

Comrade Suika asserted that the DPRK is interested in getting closer with European socialist countries in full awareness of the close alliance of these countries with the Soviet Union. The DPRK attempts, by way of this detour, to demonstrate where it stands. Such is too dangerous in its direct relations with the Soviet Union. These relations can only develop in balanced proportion to relations with the PR China.
[...]

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DOCUMENT No. 113

[Source: PoIA AA, MfAA, C 294/78. Obtained and Translated by for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer.]

GDR Embassy to the People's Republic of Bulgaria
Sofia, 18 June 1975

To:
Member of Politburo and
Secretary of SED Central Committee
Comrade Hermann A x e n
B e r l i n

Dear Comrade Axen!

Enclosed I forward the original and two copies of a translation of an “Information for the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party about the Talks between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Kim Il Sung during the Visit of the DPRK Party and Government Delegation to Bulgaria from 2 to 5 June 1975”.

This material was handed over by Comrade Tellalov to the ambassadors of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and to me on 17 June to forward to our party leaderships and governments. It is also still supposed to be shared with the Mongolian and Cuban comrades.

[...]

With socialist greetings
Wenning
[GDR Ambassador]

Enclosure

CC:

1x Central Committee, Department IV, Comrade Markowski
1x Foreign Ministry, Comrade Minister Fischer
1x Foreign Ministry, Comrade State Secretary Dr. Krolikowski

Working Translation

For Personal Information only, highly confidential!

About the Talks between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Kim Il Sung during the Visit of the DPRK Party and Government Delegation to Bulgaria (2 to 5 June 1975)

During the official talks between the party and government delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the DPRK, and in private talks between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Kim Il Sung, a wide range of questions were discussed and positions of both countries outlined.

I. Questions discussed during official meetings of both delegations

[...]

2. [Kim Il Sung:] For Korean Unification

The second issue we are working on is strengthening the revolutionary movement in South Korea, the struggle for the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea, and the creation of conditions for peaceful unification of the country.

- a) The movement for democratization of the society and the unification of the fatherland is growing in South Korea and very active. A deficit is the lacking active participation of workers and peasants in this movement. The intelligentsia is unable to deeply penetrate the village and the working class and exert respective influence. This is a result of the heavy repression in South Korea. The struggle for democratization of South Korean society is still active on a high level. In the past, as well as in the current year, the students were uprising for mass struggle. Educational institutions were closed down, a major part of students were drafted into the army, and another part ended up in prisons. That is the situation in South Korea.
- b) We were forced to freeze peaceful dialogue with South Korea since they insist on creating two Koreas. This means in fact the eternal division of Korea. Such happens on instructions of the U.S. and Japan. By demanding the creation of two Koreas they aimed at shutting down the talks. We think we cannot achieve any results by talking to them.

Moreover: What benefit would we have from talking to the dictator [Park Chung Hee] in a situation where the South Korean people are actively against him?

- c) We are against creating two Koreas. The United States attempts to turn South Korea into an American base. That is why they insist on petrifying the division. Japan has identical goals. The Japanese strive at maintaining the South Korean territory as a market for their goods and define the DMZ at the 38th parallel for the fight against communism. They claim, in light of the changed situation in Indochina, we will attack the South as well. In this context they make noise and continue to agitate against us. As a result, compared to previous years the tension has increased. In South Korea they unfold an anti-communist campaign with new forms, and frequently they talk about a war with the DPRK.
- d) Kissinger and the U.S. Defense Secretary repeat over and over again that they will not tolerate in South Korea what happened in Indochina, and that they will continue their commitments. There are additional troop deployments in South Korea. Obviously the Americans cannot achieve anything anymore. Their forces are spread out over many countries. This leads to the assumption that they cannot fight successfully any longer. Yet they are still imperialists.
- e) We have to increase our vigilance and combat readiness. If they attack us, we are ready to fight them. However, we will never attack first. We even intend to have talks about a peaceful unification of the country in case there will be a democratic change in the [South Korean] leadership. We have not refrained from using the slogan of the peaceful unification of the fatherland. We continue to insist on the three principles to achieve unification, namely autonomously, without foreign interference, in peaceful ways, and independently from ideological differences.
- f) In the context of increasing the fight of the Korean people for unification, we deem it necessary that ever more peoples from different countries in the world will raise their voice for the withdrawal of American forces from South Korea.

[...]

II. Issues discussed in private talks between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Kim Il Sung

Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Kim Il Sung talked to each other in Varna for about three hours. They also talked while traveling there [from Sofia]. The following topics were discussed in these talks:

[...]

6. On Korean unification

Comrade Kim Il Sung stated, after the U.S. defeat in Indochina, attention of the world is now focusing on the Korean question. Western news agencies would relentlessly report the DPRK will attack South Korea inspired by the Vietnamese victory. This is directed by the Americans and the South Korean puppets to increase repression against patriotic and democratic forces that fight for the democratization of society [in South Korea] and the unification of the fatherland.

The South Korean army (760,000 men) is stronger than the DPRK forces (500,000). The number of American forces was increased by 4,000, and now amounts to 42,000 troops. With only 16 million people and a shortage of workers in the DPRK, it will be very difficult to

recruit and mobilize even more young people for the army. Also the U.S. forces have equipment superior to North Korea's army.

Talking in more detail about the situation in South Korea, Kim stated the DPRK maintains relations with the New Democratic Party. It forms together with the Party of Democratic Unification and the Social-democratic Party the People's Front for the Unification of Korea. Religious leaders are also members of the People's Front advocating a democratization of society and Korean unification. Yet mostly representatives of the middle class are part of the People's Front. Their relation with workers and peasants, as well as their influence among them, is still weak.

The Marxist party in South Korea, the Revolutionary Unification Party, is weak in numbers. It has about 3,000 members. They have a central leadership and leadership structures in the provinces. They have representatives in several factories but they are illegal and their activities are much impaired. Making active efforts among workers and peasants, and fighting openly against Park Chung Hee, would result in the liquidation of its leaders. This is why we have instructed the members of the Revolutionary Party to join the ranks of the legal opposition parties and increase their influence from there under the workers and peasants.

An important force in the struggle of the South Korean people for the democratization of society and Korean unification are the students that organize mass demonstrations against Park Chung Hee. All these forces are fighting an active struggle. Kim underlined that de facto the score between the forces fighting for Korean unification and those advocating the eternal division of the country and the creation of two Koreas, is 2:1 in favor of the former when including the DPRK into the count.

Comrade Kim Il Sung explained that there are low-level contacts between DPRK and U.S. representatives in Panmunjeom. The Americans declared that U.S. forces will leave South Korean territory if the DPRK makes an official statement not to invade South Korea. The DPRK has frequently made such declarations, yet there are still American forces in South Korea.

There are two options to achieve the unification of Korea, either peacefully with diplomacy, or by military means. Kim stated the DPRK continues to be committed to the first option and has not given up the slogan of the country's peaceful unification. Yet for its success this requires American withdrawal, Park Chung Hee's international isolation, and the outbreak of an uprising in South Korea.

There is always a chance for a revolt while U.S. forces are still present. Yet the DPRK recommended to democratic forces in South Korea some advice for their actions. Obviously, Kim said, there is always the option they do not listen to us and rise up.

Geographical and natural conditions in South Korea are very different from Vietnam's. South Korea has no neighboring territories like Vietnam has in Laos and Cambodia, and it is surrounded by sea on three sides. In the case of a move by the Korean army into the South, Northern forces are in great danger to get trapped and encircled. Also there is no fertile ground for a sustainable guerrilla war. The forces of the adversary are strong and small unit fighting cannot be successful. For all these reasons, the DPRK does not favor a military method to solve the unification problem.

Kim Il Sung concluded, this does not mean the DPRK will be unable to defend its achievements if attacked. To the contrary, it increases its vigilance. The DPRK is ready to fight if attacked. Kim emphasized, its mountain ranges and submerged rice paddies are

natural obstacles for any enemy to move forward rapidly in case of an aggression. The enemy could only resort to air power but countermeasures are already in place – underground bunkers, factories, power plants and so on. Then Kim stressed that there is the huge supportive hinterland of the allies Soviet Union and China. In essence, Kim stated, KWP and DPRK positions are aiming at solving the question of Korean unification peacefully. Yet it will take a lot of time.

* * *

DOCUMENT No. 114

[Source: SAPMO-BA, DY 30, J IV 2/2A/2123. Obtained for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer and translated for NKIDP by Grace Leonard.]

Report on the official friendship visit to the DPRK by the Party and state delegation of the GDR, led by Com. Erich Honecker, 8-11 December 1977

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY

– Internal Party Archives –

From the files of: Politburo

Memorandum

No. 48

13 December 1977

DY30/

Sign.: J IV 2/2 A – 2123

Report on the official friendship visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea by the Party and state delegation of the German Democratic Republic, led by Comrade Erich Honecker, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, from 8 to 11 December 1977.

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party and the Council of Ministers of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, a Party and state delegation from the German Democratic Republic, led by Comrade Erich Honecker, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, made an official friendship visit to the DPRK from 8 to 11 December 1977.

I.

The visit was the first meeting of the highest representatives of the GDR and DPRK since Comrade Kim Il Sung's visit to the GDR in 1956. The meetings between Comrade Erich Honecker and Comrade Kim Il Sung, with both delegations present, were friendly. The visit resulted in an agreement on a joint communique. A Consular Treaty and an Agreement on the Further Development of Economic and Scientific/Technical Cooperation were signed.

The Party and government of the DPRK organized an impressive reception by the people of Pyongyang for the GDR's Party and state delegation. During its stay, the delegation toured the Kimsong tractor plant and attended the opera, "The Flower Girl," in the Mansuda Palace. Comrades Erich Honecker and Kim Il Sung spoke at a celebration of friendship, at which there were 20,000 participants and which took place in the Athletic Palace in Pyongyang.

During the official proceedings each side reported to the other about the realization of the resolutions of the IX Party Congress of the Socialist Unity Party and of the V Party Congress of the Korean Workers Party. There was a comprehensive exchange of views on the development of relations between the two Parties and nations, the international situation, and the Communist world movement. Willingness was expressed to expand in all respects the cooperation between the Socialist Unity Party and the Korean Workers Party, and between the GDR and the DPRK. Comrade Kim Il Sung repeatedly stressed the great importance of Comrade Erich Honecker's visit for deepening mutual understanding and bilateral relations.

The mass media of the DPRK reported in detail about the visit by the GDR's Party and state delegation. Press accounts of the toast by Comrade Erich Honecker at the reception by the Korean side did not report remarks on issues of European security and disarmament.

II.

In his remarks, Comrade Erich Honecker praised the DPRK's great achievements in building socialism and affirmed the GDR's support for proposals by the DPRK for resolving problems on the Korean peninsula.

Comrade Honecker reported in detail about the domestic and foreign policy of the GDR in realizing the resolutions of the IX Party Congress of the Socialist Unity Party. He stressed that the successes of the GDR in building a developed socialist society are the result of intense work and creative initiative on the part of the workers of the GDR under the leadership of their Marxist/Leninist party. The indestructible bonds to and cooperation with the Soviet Union and fraternal Socialist nations are very important for stable and dynamic development in the GDR. Preparations for the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution have turned into the greatest competition in the GDR. The Socialist Unity Party is devoting special attention to further improving social democracy, especially in terms of broad inclusion of citizens in leading the state. Political/ideological work is the heart and soul of the Party's efforts. Its centerpiece is disseminating and popularizing the works of Marx and Lenin, educating for socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

The Socialist Unity Party strongly opposes the increasing ideological diversion and stepped-up agitation by FRG imperialism against the GDR. It completely rejects all appearances of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Comrade Honecker outlined the mutual foreign policy positions of the community of socialist states on issues of international development. He stressed that the solid alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal nations is the foundation of our foreign policy. New friendship treaties entered into with the Soviet Union and other socialist nations are particularly important. They play an important role in consolidating the socialist world system as the greatest achievement of the international working class. He stressed the

necessity of strengthening the Warsaw Pact in order to protect the peaceful building [of socialism] in our countries from NATO's aggressive intentions.

Relations between the GDR and the People's Republic of China are poor for reasons that are known. There are no Party relations. The XI Party Congress of the Communist Party of China characterized the Soviet Union as the number one enemy. Beijing is further improving its reactionary interplay with imperialism. Subversive activity with regard to the international Communist movement continues. Beijing criticizes NATO for not building up enough arms for a war against the Soviet Union. This is tantamount to a challenge to wage war against the GDR. The GDR completely rejects the policies of the Chinese leaders, which run counter to the interests of Socialist countries, the international workers movement, and the national liberation movement. At the same time, it advocates normal development of state relations with the People's Republic of China and, given proper conditions, resuming Party relations, as well. But this is not possible at the cost of compromising principle issues, such as the unbreakable bond to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the Soviet Union itself.

Comrade Honecker addressed in detail the situation in Europe, especially in the FRG, and the status of relations between the GDR and the FRG. He spoke about the NATO military forces directly arrayed against the GDR and relations between the FRG and South Korea.

In its policies towards developing nations, the GDR concentrates on supporting nations with a socialist orientation, such as Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and Guinea-Bissau. It supports the efforts by many Asian states to create stable relations of peaceful coexistence on this continent, and thereby to ensure important conditions required for guaranteeing security in Asia. This includes ensuring peace on the Korean peninsula.

In his statements on the communist world movement, Comrade Honecker stressed that the Socialist Unity Party maintains good relations with the overwhelming majority of fraternal parties based on Marxism/Leninism and proletarian internationalism. He stressed the mutual responsibility of the communist parties and praised the Berlin Conference as a meaningful success by the Communist movement. Comrade Kim Il Sung expressed his gratitude for the selfless aid and support of the GDR, especially during the War of Liberation of the Fatherland and during the period that followed. Even today the GDR is providing valuable support to the Korean people in the struggle to unify the country.

The Korean Workers Party considers unification of the fatherland to be its primary mission. To achieve this goal, at its V Party Congress the Party resolved to build up socialism in the north, to support the struggle of revolutionary forces in South Korea, and to consolidate solidarity with international revolutionary forces. Building Socialism in the DPRK is the foundation for establishing the new social order in the entire nation.

It is worthwhile to demonstrate the superiority of the socialist order to the south and to show the entire world that the DPRK is a sovereign, independent state. In contrast, South Korea is a base for American imperialism. After the victory over the Japanese militarists, the socialist countries, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and the GDR as well provided great assistance

to the Korean people. But this alone could not resolve every problem. So it was necessary to do everything in our power to become self-reliant. Since then an independent national economy has been created. Currently the ideological, technical, and cultural revolutions are the focal points, which is in accord with the resolutions of the V Party Congress.

The DPRK stands directly before the enemy. Since there was no bourgeois revolution in Korea, the transition period to socialism and communism is relatively long. There is residual feudalism, Confucianism, Buddhism, sectarianism. Since Korea is surrounded by large countries, toadyism before the great foreign powers was very prevalent. The ideological revolution is no less important than creating the material foundations for socialism. The experience of the Korean Workers Party demonstrates that people very actively take part in the revolution, in smashing the old social order. The higher the material standard of living climbs, the more ideologically lazy people become and the more careless their activity is. All people must be transformed according to the model of the worker class.

The Korean Workers Party today has 2.2 million members. All of the other members of society are included in the various organizations. Organized Party life and learning occupy an important place in the ideological work. Nearly the entire population takes part in training that is conducted every Saturday. In addition, two hours of self-study are conducted daily.

The technical revolution is very important. The primary issues are reducing the differences between light and heavy physical labor, between industry and agriculture, and liberating women from heavy housework, actively drawing them into societal life.

Our cultural revolution is different from that in other countries. Its goal is to provide all people with knowledge. This is why the mandatory 11-year polytechnical school system was introduced. One million intellectuals have already been trained in the DPRK. The issue is repelling enemy attempts to infiltrate the cultural realm.

Turning to the economic situation, Comrade Kim Il Sung reported that a new 7-year plan begins in 1978. The objective of this plan is to develop modern industry, pervaded with science and based on the Juche principle. This does not mean rejecting economic cooperation with other countries. But industry must still support itself based on native raw materials.

The main points of the 7-year plan cited by Kim Il Sung provide for industrial production to increase by approximately 100 percent and are to be approved at a Central Committee meeting and thereafter at a meeting of the Supreme People's Assembly on 15 December 1977.

Comrade Kim Il Sung addressed the complicated situation in the development of the South Korean revolution. Comrade Kim Il Sung spoke out against the concept of two Korean states and rejected the US proposal for so-called cross-recognition (Soviet Union recognizes South Korea, US recognizes the DPRK). The DPRK will patiently continue its work with respect to the South, so that Park Chung Hee becomes even more isolated and the struggle for democratization can be continued. The DPRK holds fast to the three

principles for unifying the land, which were announced in 1972. Negotiations with the South, which began in 1972 based on this foundation, have currently been broken off because those in power in South Korea have publicly come out in favor of two Koreas.

Comrade Kim Il Sung stressed the differences in the situations of the GDR and DPRK, both in the negotiations and in his speech at the friendship celebration. He stated that the existence of the GDR was historically necessary.

In his remarks on the international situation, Comrade Kim Il Sung stressed that the Korean Workers Party advocates joining all revolutionary forces, especially those of socialist nations, "Third World" countries, the non-aligned nations, the international workers movement, and the national liberation movement.

There are difficulties in joining the forces of Socialist nations due to relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. Seen from a historical perspective, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China are comrades-in-arms of the DPRK. The DPRK has a common border with the People's Republic of China that is approximately 1500 kilometers in length. Although the two countries are close, the DPRK does not agree with everything China does. Relations with China were poor during the "Cultural Revolution." China agitated against the "Korean revisionists" over loudspeakers that were set up along the entire Sino-Korean border.

But if the DPRK improves relations with China, it need not worry about the US. The DPRK cannot concentrate troops in the north and in the south simultaneously. This is why the DPRK has endeavored to improve relations since the end of the "Cultural Revolution." It has succeeded. However, the DPRK does not accept Chinese assertions such as the characterization of the Soviet Union as "Social Imperialism."

The DPRK is not a blind follower of China.

The Soviet Union supported Korea in its war of liberation. After the war it provided political and material assistance in the amount of 2,220 billion [old denomination] rubles. The DPRK is striving for better, amicable relations, but cannot get involved in the polemics between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. In this issue, it favors maintaining strict independence and supports anything that promotes joining forces.

There are people who believe that the DPRK is more on China's side. This is not the case. The principles of the DPRK for the joining of forces in the Communist world movement are the struggle against imperialism, for socialism and communism, for support of the international workers and democratic movements, and non-intervention in domestic matters. The DPRK maintains normal relations with the other socialist nations and has no differences of opinion with them. The DPRK participates in the non-aligned movement because it is highly anti-imperialist in character. Relations between the DPRK and the countries of the Third World are good.

Comrade Kim Il Sung remarked on the danger of Japanese militarism recurring. Japanese militarists are no less dangerous than those in West Germany. He opposed the stationing of US troops in Asia and the transformation of ASEAN into a military organization.

III.

Comrade Erich Honecker and Comrade Kim Il Sung praised how well relations between the two Parties and states have developed. The results of the visit have created favorable conditions for successfully further developing cooperation between the Socialist Unity Party and the Korean Workers Party, the GDR and the DPRK. Comrade Erich Honecker addressed in detail the status of relations between the two Parties and states and passed on to Comrade Kim Il Sung written proposals for further cooperation in the political and economic arenas. The proposals he set forth for further developing scientific/technical and economic cooperation, and the written draft of a governmental agreement in this regard, were appraised by Comrade Kim Il Sung as a very useful foundation for further developing economic cooperation.

Comrade Kim Il Sung explained that a trade deficit has come about in the last five years due to certain economic difficulties in the DPRK, and the loans could not be repaid on time. The DPRK thinks it is possible to cooperate with the GDR in mining heavy metals. The GDR could supply facilities, while the DPRK has labor and raw materials. The FRG works very actively in South Korea, and this is why the DPRK and the GDR should work closely with one another. He particularly stressed developing cooperation in joint development of heavy metals and the production of sintered magnesite.

He was particularly grateful for the GDR's willingness to intensify its scientific/technical support precisely in those areas that are of great importance for developing North Korea's own raw material resources, such as, for instance, calcium carbide chemistry and upgrading coal. He requested that the GDR provide good support in developing microelectronics for automation.

Comrade Kim Il Sung accepted the invitation Comrade Erich Honecker extended to visit the GDR and agreed to prepare an Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation and to enter into a long-term trade agreement.

IV.

In preparing for the visit, negotiations on communiqués were held that resulted in joint statements on a few issues of international development and on how relations should proceed. The communique contained positive statements on international relations, the Great October Socialist Revolution, the unity and solidarity of Socialist countries and the Communist and workers parties, developments in Europe, for peace and cooperation in Asia, and on the importance of peaceful coexistence between the GDR and the FRG.

The Korean side praised the existence of the GDR as an important contribution to strengthening the forces of socialism in the world. The negotiations resulted in an agreement that the visit would contribute to deepening the friendship and cooperation between the GDR and the DPRK and would thereby strengthen the solidarity of socialist states.

[...]

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DOCUMENT No. 115

[Source: SAPMO-BA, DY 30, 2460. Obtained for NKIDP by Bernd Schaefer and translated for NKIDP by Grace Leonard.]

Memorandum of conversation between Erich Honecker and Kim Il Sung, 31 May 1984.

Memorandum

[stamp:] Personal Classified Information

Central Committee 02 310

on the meeting between Erich Honecker and Kim Il Sung on
31 May 1984

E. Honecker used the meeting to address some issues that could not be addressed in greater detail during the official talks on 30 May 1984 due to time constraints.

He stated that the GDR is currently preoccupied with its 35th anniversary. The Party, which has 2.2 million members, is making thorough preparations for the 35th anniversary. The centerpiece is the ideological work, which has led to intense talks with practically every citizen of the GDR.

He said that, as Kim Il Sung could see for himself, the Party is bound to the masses, and there is a good trusting relationship between the Party and the masses. The alliance policy is very important, that is, cooperation with allied Parties, the role of organizations of the masses such as the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions, with 9 million members, the Free German Youth, with 2.3 million members, and the whole range of other organizations of the masses.

He said that the election results of 6 May 1984 could be considered the best in the history of the GDR, both in terms of the election itself and in terms of voter turnout, and attests to the successful policies of the Party and government in carrying out the resolutions of the X Party Congress.

He stated that the Socialist competition in honor of the 35th Anniversary of the GDR is very important. The workers have established as their goal for this to increase productivity by one percent above what is planned. Given the results thus far it can be expected that they will surpass this goal in the competition. Thus net industrial production in the first 5 months of 1984 increased by 7.9 percent. Productivity in the field of industrial ministries increased by 7 percent during the same period. This demonstrates the excellent initiative of the citizens of [line cut off].

He stated that the fact that 6 million citizens received new apartments between 1971 and 1983 alone was very positive for consolidating trust between the Party and the masses. Now the goal is to improve the residential conditions of an additional 4.3 million citizens between 1984 and 1990. Then the issue of apartments in the GDR as a social problem would be resolved in 1990. In addition, there are a number of other measures in the realm of social policy, e.g., the recent

resolutions on improving material conditions for families with more than 3 children and the third increase in minimum pensions since 1971.

E. Honecker detailed the activities of organizations of the masses such as the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions, the Free German Youth, the Association of Gardeners and Animal Breeders, the reinvigorated Association for Mutual Farmers Assistance, the scientific institutes of the GDR, the academies and schools of higher education, the development of the general polytechnical school, the activities of artists unions, and much more.

All of this, he said, is going on in our country under conditions that are open to the world, as he had already expressed in 1977, that is, under the immediate observation of the Western adversary's electronic media. Naturally there are a few people who listen to these broadcasters and their daily lies, but it should not be overlooked that the vast majority of citizens of the GDR, one could even say, the people, stand fast and unalterably with the Party and government, with their republic.

E. Honecker then asked Kim Il Sung his assessment of the situation in China and of the current leadership of the Communist Party of China based on his own experience. For the USSR and also for the GDR and other socialist countries that do not have Party relations with China, China is a country about whose future course there are still many unresolved questions, for instance, as a result of the Reagan visit.

Kim Il Sung responded as follows. When Hu Yaobang visited our country in May, I also told him about my upcoming trip to the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries. He welcomed it. I had not known Hu Yaobang before this. On the other hand, I have been friends with Deng Xiaoping for a long time. As you know, he was exiled three times during the Cultural Revolution. Deng Xiaoping paid me an unofficial visit for my 70th birthday in April 1982 to introduce Hu Yaobang to me as the new Secretary General of the Communist Party of China. He made a good impression on me from the beginning.

Hu Yaobang told me that he wants to improve governmental relations with the Soviet Union. He asked me to convey this to the leadership of the Soviet Union. Hu Yaobang assured me many times during our lengthy discussion that China is truly interested in improving relations with the Soviet Union. He confirmed this to me again this year. The leadership of the Communist Party of China is of one mind on this issue. He asked me to convey my thoughts on this to our Soviet comrades.

During his visit to the DPRK, he received news that Comrade Arkhipov's planned visit to the People's Republic of China would be pushed back. Comrade Hu Yaobang told me that he had very much been looking forward to this visit. Our Chinese comrades also think highly of Comrade Arkhipov. He used to be an economic advisor in China. Comrade Hu Yaobang said that he very much regretted that Comrade Arkhipov's trip would be pushed back.

I told Comrade Chernenko about this during my meetings with him. I told our Soviet comrades my thoughts both in a personal meeting with Comrade Chernenko and in official negotiations — that the Chinese really want to improve relations with the Soviet Union. The Chinese do not

want war. Overcoming the consequences of the Cultural Revolution in the economy and in the standard of living of the population requires a lot of time and effort. All resources must be devoted to this. The Chinese are not developing relations with the US and Japan with the goal of working against another country.

Given the complex world situation, I hope that the Soviet Union and China work things out. I believe that the development of relations with the US is not targeted against the Soviet Union. Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai already told me that when they established relations with the US. They told us every time they met with Japan and the US. The only objective of these relations is to obtain developed technology and credit from Japan and the US. Deng Xiaoping is said to have stated in the US that the arms build-up in the US is good for peace. I don't know if that's so. This is the first time I have heard of Deng Xiaoping expressing a sentiment like that.

It is a fact that the Chinese have improved governmental relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The number of delegations exchanged has grown, as well. All of this can help to reduce the mistrust between the Soviet Union and China. Naturally, I was not able to tell Comrade Chernenko that I think it is a mistake to push back Comrade Arkhipov's visit to China. I just told him that the Chinese regret it. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has 5 members. Two of them—Wu Xueqian and Li Xiannian—used to be friends with Comrade Arkhipov. Today they are both powerful. Comrade Arkhipov could build trust in meetings with these two men.

Hu Yaobang told me the following: We sent the Deputy Prime Minister to Comrade Andropov's funeral. During the welcoming meeting, his escort told him that he could meet with anyone he wanted. As is customary with East Asians, he said that he would accommodate himself to whatever his host had arranged. Our Soviet comrades did not understand this correctly. There were meetings with just anyone. Only the Foreign Minister attended Brezhnev's burial. They were sending a message to the Soviet Union by sending the deputy prime minister. But this was not understood.

Kim Il Sung said that he believed that all socialist nations should work toward creating trust between the Soviet Union and China. No new mistrust must be permitted to arise. I have told our Soviet comrades that I believe that the goal of our Chinese comrades is to put Socialism in China in order. They don't want a conflict. I think it is important that China wants to open the gate to socialist nations in the interest of socialist modernization. We should not oppose that. Why should we leave the important Chinese market to the capitalists?

The old generation of leadership in China is dying out. We should show the new generation an opening. If we leave China to the capitalists, there is the risk that China will become a quasi-colony again. We should not close the door in China's face.

Because of our position—the length of our border with China, confrontation with the US and Japan—what we are most afraid of is that China will not stick with socialism. There are 1 billion people in China. We have to make sure that they follow the socialist path rather than some other path. We have to focus on drawing them toward us. In the past there were major anti-Soviet campaigns in China. This is not the case anymore. During the Cultural Revolution there were

major propaganda actions against us on the Yalu. There were provocations in North Korea at the time of the Chinese/Soviet conflicts on the Ussuri in 1969. While I was recuperating in the country, I received a call from our Minister of State Security that Chinese troops were crossing the Tumen [River] onto our territory. I gave the order not to shoot, but to let them come ahead so that we could take them on our territory, if necessary. We sent a group of soldiers there. Then the Chinese withdrew. The Chinese have castigated the Soviet Union and even us as revisionists. It lasted about 5 years in our case, and we had to keep our peace because of our situation. We had to be patient.

China has new leadership now. They don't want any conflict with the Soviet Union. They want peaceful co-existence with the US, Japan, India, and even the Soviet Union. There are still no Party relations between the Soviet Union and China. We should all try to use our governmental relations to create an atmosphere that promotes the restoration of Party relations, even between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. I ask that you, Comrade Honecker, recommend to our Soviet comrades that they send Comrade Arkhipov to China and furthermore that they begin exchanging delegations. I am convinced that China would never put herself on the side of the US against the Soviet Union. All socialist countries should develop economic ties to China, and should even invest in China. The Chinese wanted to speak to Comrade Arkhipov about opportunities to cooperate in modernizing the numerous plants built by the Soviet Union. I told Hu Yaobang that I would ask the Soviet Union about building a nuclear power plant. Hu Yaobang welcomed this, because it would be better than purchasing one from a capitalist country.

Regarding the incidents on the Chinese/Vietnamese border that you mentioned, which you do not approve of, which you regret, I have only the Chinese press accounts to go by. I know nothing of what actually happened. I consider it very regrettable, because these incidents help neither the Vietnamese nor the Chinese. They do damage to our common tasks, above all bringing the Chinese closer to us. All socialist countries should urge the two great powers to hold out their hands to one another.

Hu Yaobang has gathered a lot of new people around him. Hu Qili, who in the past was with the World Federation of Democratic Youth—he knows many people from the past, including you, Comrade Honecker. The current Foreign Minister was also involved in the youth organization in the past. There are many other people around Hu Yaobang who used to work in the youth organization. Hu Yaobang himself is still very healthy; he is smart, his theoretical knowledge is good, and he has also made a thorough study of Marxism. Deng Xiaoping works more from behind the scene, but he also believes that they have to develop relations with the Soviet Union. He is the only one of the old functionaries who is still there. I am his friend. In the past the Chinese castigated the Soviet Union as social imperialists. They don't do that any more.

I met Comrade Chernenko for the first time [line cut off] ... I knew him well. He has been to Korea three times. He sent me a personal letter immediately after he was elected. I promised him that I would come to the Soviet Union quickly so that I could travel to the GDR immediately afterwards. But that had to be postponed due to Comrade Andropov's illness. Since I have just gotten to know Comrade Chernenko, I did not know how far I could go with him during our talks. I ask you, Comrade Honecker, to discuss all of these issues with him when you meet. How

good it would be for all of us if the Soviet Union and China would reconcile. Japanese journalists have frequently asked my opinion on Sino-Soviet relations. I always said that they are both socialist countries and they therefore belong together. Both the Soviet Union and China are our comrades-in-arms.

To E. Honecker's inquiry about the nature of the group of Koreans living in Japan, Kim Il Sung stated that this was a group formed by the DPRK. We support relations between this group and socialist countries, including the GDR.

Hu Yaobang, Kim Il Sung continued, had me briefed in great detail on his trip to Japan. I support normalization of relations between China and Japan. There are those in Japan who aspire to reviving militarism and the alliance with the US. But Japan in general can have no interest in re-militarization for economic reasons. All of Japan's mass organizations oppose militarization. Much depends on which people are in power. I asked Hu Yaobang about his talks with Nakasone. He told me that Nakasone said that Japan will not become cannon fodder for the Americans. It can't dissociate itself from the US, but does not want to become a lackey of the US. We should all think about that. For the future it could be important whether Nakasone remains prime minister or whether Abe becomes prime minister. In China the Chinese have been courting Abe because they think he would be the better choice. We have to work with the Japanese in a way that ensures that militarism does not recur. I sometimes make harsh statements against Japanese militarism, but we have to work with them anyway. Above all we oppose the US/Japan/South Korea trilateral military alliance. The Japanese have promised the Chinese \$2 billion in credit. This is good for the Chinese economy.

I would like to address the socialist market, but today we have no more time.